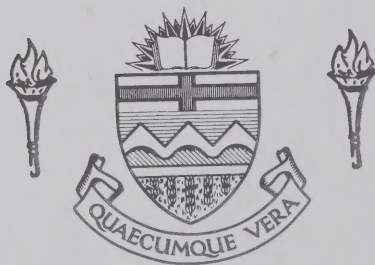


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SPORT AND POLITICS: THE STANCE OF NIGERIA
ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN APARTHEID
POLICY IN SPORTS, 1960-1982

by



JACOB BODUNRIN AGBOGUN

A DISSERTATION
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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the study was to write an accurate analytic history of the public posture assumed and the actions taken by Nigeria on the South African apartheid sport policy from 1960 to 1982, and to determine the effect of these actions on the sport environment of Nigeria during the second half of the 1970's. Sources for the study included: personal interviews and collections, correspondence, films, archival records, selected government documents, and publications of national and international organizations. Others included newspapers, selected journals and journal articles, theses and dissertations, and questionnaires.

The study was organized into four main parts. The first was a historical review of the South African apartheid sport policy in order to assess the state of sport in that society. The second was a careful examination of a background to Nigeria's foreign policy with reference to South Africa's apartheid sport policy. The third was a critical examination and analysis of the actions taken by Nigeria relative to apartheid policy in South Africa. The fourth was an analysis of the impact of those actions on world view, and the effects on Nigeria's sport environment.

It is found that the actions of Nigeria relating to that apartheid sport policy of South Africa have been consistent with her foreign policy objectives, which among other things, stand to combat racial discriminations in all its manifestations. A number of Nigeria's actions were manifested through her role in the actions taken by a number of international organizations of which she is a member. These bodies have taken decisive actions as a countervailing force to pressure



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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CABTA	Citizens All-Blacks Tour Association (New Zealand)
CARE	Citizens Association for Racial Equality (New Zealand)
CGF	Commonwealth Games Federation
CHOG	Commonwealth Heads of Government
FIFA	Federation of International Football Association
FISU	International University Sports Federation
FMG	Federation Military Government (of Nigeria)
HART	Halt All Racist Tours (New Zealand)
IOC	International Olympic Committee
IAAF	International Amateur Athletic Federation
IBF	International Badminton Federation
ITTF	International Table Tennis Federation
ILTF	International Lawn Tennis Federation
FILA	International Federation of Amateur Wrestling
NOC	National Olympic Committee: Nigeria Olympic Committee
NSC	National Sports Commission (Nigeria)
NIIA	Nigerian Institute of International Affairs
OAU	Organization of African Unity
OCHR	Olympic Committee for Human Rights (United States)
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SACOS	South African Council on Sport
SANOC	South African National Olympic Committee
SAN-ROC	South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee
SAOGA	South African Olympic Games Association
SARB	South Africa Rugby Board
SASA	South African Sports Association

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS
(Continued)

SCSA	Supreme Council for Sports in Africa
STST	Stop the Seventy Tour (England)
UN	United Nations

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

INTRODUCTION

During this twentieth century sport has emerged as an important social institution to the point where it has assumed an integral part of contemporary society throughout the world. Indeed sport has achieved such prominence that in recent years it would appear that governments of most countries have shown keen interest in its development for their citizens. Evidence abounds of actions taken within the sport environment which have been consciously or unconsciously motivated by politics. Such actions relate to sport at both international and domestic levels throughout the world. These assertions are further enhanced when one considers the contention stated below:

Certainly Baron de Coubertin did not see sport completely free of politics. On the contrary, he hoped that sporting activities might improve the political relationships between nations. . . . If sport was to influence politics it was hardly conceivable that the interaction should be in one direction only and that politics should have no bearing at all upon sport (McIntosh, 1970, p. 140).

At the international level, Andrew Strenk (1979) suggested that "six uses of sport which are most applicable in the international environment . . . include diplomatic recognition, propaganda, prestige, international understanding, protest and conflict" (p. 71). This suggestion highlights the pervasive nature of sport within the international sphere in recent times.

Protest, which is one of the named uses of sport in the international scene, is worthy of closer examination as a form of evidence of the pervasiveness of sport. Protests in international sport can be

classified under two major classes; namely systemic and non-systemic. Systemic protests include those consciously planned by a government or a government organization, while non-systemic protests are considered not as conscious acts of a government or a government organization, but rather as the result of either individual actions or decisions by non-government organizations.

One of the first protests of a non-systemic type occurred in the modern Olympics during the 1900 Paris Games. The American team protested against competitions being held on a Sunday. Consequently, "two Americans boycotted the 1500 metre team final and the U.S.A. collectively withdrew from the 500 metre team event" (Killanin and Rodda, 1976, p. 30). This incident was reported in the New York Times as follows:

. . . the French announced the Olympic schedule. Bastille Day (July 14) fell on a Saturday in 1900, and the French planned to start the Olympic Games the next day. The Americans protested, however, saying that they refused to compete; those who did participate claimed to be fighting for the flag (Kanin, 1982, p. 30).

Such an incident typifies a non-systemic protest which, although limited in scope, is nonetheless a significant method of expressing a concern about a social issue which falls outside of the sport domain. A more recent example of this type of protest is that which occurred at the Mexico Olympics in 1968. The United States athletes, Tommie Smith and John Carlos, were the key figures in an incident which was reported, in part, as follows:

The talking point of the sprints was the victory of Tommie Smith in the 200 metres. He won easily in 19.8 seconds - a world record - from Australia's Peter Norman and his fellow-American Negro John Carlos. . . . But the aftermath of the race was the victory ceremony which is the most notorious incident of its kind in the history of the Games. Smith and Carlos walked to the rostrum clad in United States tracksuits, embellished with a badge of the Olympic Project for Human Rights. Smith wore a black leather glove on his right, Carlos, one on his left. Both carried an easily identified running shoe. They received their medals with dignity . . . and turned to face the flags of their country as the national anthem was played.

Then they raised their gloved hands in the 'black power' salute and bowed their heads (Cavendish, 1980, p. 81).

Lapchick (1975) added this comment:

After the ceremony, Smith explained to Howard Cosell the symbolism of his and Carlos' actions:

I wore a black right-hand glove and Carlos wore the left-hand glove of the same pair. My raised right hand stood for the power in Black America. Carlos' left hand stood for the unity of Black America. Together, they formed an arc of unity and power. The black socks with no shoes stood for black poverty in racist America. The totality of our effort was the regaining of black dignity (p. 131).

Similarly, during the 1972 Munich Olympics, some black American athletes led by Lee Evans staged a demonstration. These protests by American athletes were in support of the Human Rights movements. In each of the above instances no government was responsible for the protest actions. On the contrary they were started by individual private persons or groups. The role of governments are visible in the examples of systemic protests which follow.

During the 1908 London Olympics, the Finnish government seeking diplomatic recognition for Finland, had its team protest against parading under the Russian flag the requirement for a team from a territory under the Russian Empire. The team eventually marched into the stadium without a flag. The 1956 Olympic Games in Melbourne, Australia was threatened by a massive boycott as a consequence of protests over Soviet invasion of Socialist Hungary. The Netherlands and Spain ultimately withdrew from the Games. The Hungarians chose to use the Games as a platform for their worldwide protest against the Soviet invasion and occupation of their country. Ali (1976) recorded that "in the Olympic Village, they flew the Hungarian flag (with the Kossuth Cross, symbol of the legendary freedom fighter Lajos Kossuth) and wore black armbands on their uniforms" (p. 20).

Protests which occurred during sport events at the international level, especially those games organized under the rules of the IOC, were

not limited to teams from the U.S.A. and European countries. Teams from African and Caribbean states also left records of their protest actions at international sport competitions.

Following the persistent racial discrimination in South African sport policy and practices, the African governments passed resolutions at their meetings of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to fight for a change in the South African apartheid sport policy. In 1968 the SCSA committed its thirty-two member states to boycott the Mexico Olympics if South Africa was allowed to enter a team. The USSR also threatened to join in the boycott. South Africa was eventually barred from the Mexico Olympics by the IOC. In 1976, protest against New Zealand's sporting links with South Africa led to "the threat of a boycott . . . not only by the African countries, but by the East European and Caribbean countries as well" (Espy, 1981, p. 157). As a result of the protest, thirty national teams boycotted the Montreal Olympics in Canada. Two of the countries which boycotted were non-African states. They were Guyana in South America and Iraq in the Middle East.

In 1980 the Moscow Olympics witnessed yet another classic example of a systemic protest for reasons different from those which characterized the 1976 Montreal Olympics boycotts. The Moscow Olympics boycotts were spear-headed by the government of the United States of America as a protest against the presence of the Soviet troops in Afghanistan. The time schedules for the U.S. action are indicated below:

The boycott idea evidently was under tentative considerations at the White House almost immediately after the Soviet invasion. . . . President Carter finally announced his decision to boycott the Games, assuming that Soviet troops still were in Afghanistan by February 20 . . . (Kanin, 1982, pp. 118-119).

Other evidence suggest that part of the strategy adopted by the U.S.

government to ask the United States Olympic Committee (USOC) to comply with its boycott campaign approached the level of coercion. For example,

White House staff contacted over 50 American corporations and asked them to withhold Olympic pledges until the USOC agreed to boycott. . . . Threats were made by White House . . . that the USOC could lose its charter and its tax exemption status as a charitable donation group (Kereliuk, 1982, p. 62).

The exact number of nations which boycotted the 1980 Moscow Olympics in support of the U.S. government protest was not known. However, it was suggested that "nearly 65 teams (perhaps 55 because of the boycott)" (Kanin, 1982, p. 145), refused to compete. These countries included West Germany, Japan, Canada, and Kenya, which reflected the fact that the boycott action was supported not only by North America, but also by countries from other parts of the world.

To this point the focus has been on the international scene. Situations of actions taken in sport at the domestic level, however, deserve consideration with special reference to examples of actions taken by political institutions particularly those by national governments which have direct effect on the citizens. Some politically motivated decisions have, in one way or the other, had a favourable impact on the development of sport. In Nigeria, for example, the policy on education provides that physical education and sport be taught in schools; and also the laws which established the National Sports Commission (NSC) and the states' sports councils facilitate the development of sport in the country. Similarly, "such laws as the British Education Act of 1944 have made it obligatory for Local Education Authorities to provide facilities for physical education including sport" (McIntosh, 1979, p. 141). The British Education Act most probably has had a favourable impact on the development of sport at the grassroot levels in Great Britain.

Other politically motivated actions with respect to the domestic scene have had a negative impact on sport. In South Africa, the racial laws of "separate development" apartheid deprive the vast majority of the nonwhites of comfortable living standards and adequate sport facilities which are largely installed through their labour for the exclusive use of the whites. The practice of racial discrimination in South Africa has been extended into sport to the point that it would take a great deal of combined international pressure to effect change. Nigeria, from 1960 as an independent country has assumed a public posture to cooperate with other nations and international organizations in exerting pressures to bring about change in the South African apartheid sport policy.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The purpose of the study was to develop a history of the public posture assumed and the actions taken by Nigeria on the South African apartheid sport policy. In more specific terms the problem was to identify and analyze the actions taken by Nigeria relative to the South African apartheid sport with particular reference to the impact of these actions on the Nigerian sport environment, 1960 to 1982. The study includes a critical examination of:

1. The highlights in the history of South Africa's apartheid sport policy;
2. The brief history of Nigeria's foreign policy relating to apartheid in South Africa from 1960 to 1982;
3. The actions relating to sport taken by Nigeria in attempting to exert a countervailing force to the South African apartheid sport policy; and
4. The effect of these actions on the sport environment in Nigeria.

RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

A hypothesis in the context of this study is "a tentative assumption made in order to draw out and test its logical and empirical consequences" (Woolfe et al., 1980, p. 560). The hypotheses which have been formulated as a basis for interpretation and the derivation of conclusions are as follows:

1. The actions taken by Nigeria on the South African apartheid policy in sport have been consistent with Nigeria's political foreign policy regarding apartheid in South Africa.
2. Most of the actions of Nigeria relating South African apartheid policy in sport have been taken through her membership of a number of international organizations.
3. The boycott of international competitions by Nigeria for reasons relating to the South African apartheid policy in sport in the later part of the 1970's has interfered with and interrupted the execution of sport training plans, and thereby has had an adverse effect on the general Olympic sports development programmes particularly between 1976 and 1980.

DELIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The study was essentially confined to the stance of Nigeria with respect to the South African apartheid policy between 1960 and 1982. The investigation focussed largely on events and actions relating to sport. The role played by Nigeria as a member of international organizations which took actions on the South African apartheid sport policy was identified, examined and analyzed. The international organizations included the United Nations (UN), the British Commonwealth, the Commonwealth

Games Federation (CGF), the International Olympic Committee (IOC), and the Organization of African Unity (OAU). Others included the Supreme Council for Sports in Africa (SCSA), International Federations (IFs) of a number of amateur sports and the World University Games Association. The study drew from the knowledge of the foreign policy of Nigeria as it related to the apartheid policy in South Africa. The athletes and the sport officials who were interviewed in Nigeria and who completed questionnaires were those who had either represented Nigeria at an international competition or who had qualified to represent Nigeria in the 1982 Brisbane Commonwealth Games.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The factors which limited the study included:

1. The procedures and instruments employed for the investigation. The use of questionnaires in a society where many of the respondents would not like to express their opinions in such printed materials, resulted in the scanty information contained in some of the completed questionnaires. Also the use of tape recorded interviews has its constraints which were reflected in the extent to which some interviewees were prepared to respond. In the case of correspondence some letters were not answered in spite of reminder letters from the investigator.
2. The financial and physical constraints which limited the range of places visited by the investigator while in London, England, and in Nigeria, as well as the duration of stay for the data collection.
3. The writer's personal biases based on his rational considerations of issues which might have had an impact on the analysis and the interpretation of the data.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Apartheid: This is an Afrikaans word meaning "separateness". It is the official name given by the government of South Africa to its racial policies of "separate development". In practice, it means a system of institutionalized racial segregation, oppression and exploitation in which the freedom of movement and political, social and economic rights of nonwhites are sharply curtailed by the white racist minority (adapted from United Nations, Everyone's United Nations, 1979, p. 96, and Ramsamy, 1980, p. 1).

Apartheid in sport: The application of the policies and practices of such a system [that is apartheid] in sports activities whether organized on a professional or an amateur basis (adapted from SCSA Sport and Racial Discrimination, 1982, p. 7).

Banning and banning order: The South African law which permits the restriction of activities and movement of persons opposed to the apartheid policies of the white government. A person who is served with a banning order

- cannot be quoted by the press or other persons;
- cannot attend any gathering or social function like a football match, wedding reception, etc.;
- cannot have more than one person visit him at work or at home (Ramsamy, 1980, p. 1).

Boycott: To join together in abstaining from participating in trade or other events, for example, in the 1976 Montreal Olympics and the 1978 Edmonton Commonwealth Games in order to protest New Zealand's sporting links with South Africa.

Countervailing force: Pressure exerted to counteract a bad or a harmful influence. In this study such pressure include the resolutions adopted by a number of international organizations, for example the United Nations, the Commonwealth, the International Olympic Committee; the boycott of international games. These actions are to exert pressure on South Africa to change its apartheid sport policy.

House arrest: A person who is placed under house arrest in South Africa is usually only allowed to leave his house to go to work - generally between 8:00 a.m. and 1:30 p.m. (i.e., if he has to work on Saturday). At all other times he has to remain at home. Usually people who are house arrested are also banned. The restrictions make one a prisoner in his/her own house (Ramsamy, 1980, p. 1).

Politics: The theory, art, and practice of government (Fairchild, 1977, p. 224). The competition between groups and/or individuals for power and leadership in government or other group. It is also the total complex of relations between people in society (adapted from Webster New Collegiate Dictionary, 1980).

Protest: A complaint, objection or display of unwillingness to an idea or a course of action [in this case, apartheid policies] (adapted from Webster New Collegiate Dictionary, 1980).

Racial discrimination: Any distinction, exclusion, restriction of preference based on race, color, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social and cultural or any other

field of public life (Cruz, 1977, p. 25).

Sport: Activities having histories and traditions, stressing physical exertion through competition with limits set in explicit and formal rules governing role and positional relationships, and carried out by actors who are part of formally organized associations having the goal of achieving values - tangibles or intangibles - through defeating opposing groups (adapted from Edwards, Harry, Sociology of Sport. Homeward, Illinois, Dorsey Press, 1973).

Sport environment: The surrounding conditions under which sport is developed in Nigeria. The total influences (such as political decisions which lead to boycott of international sport competitions; late decisions which affect training programmes) which modify and determine the attitude of the Nigerian sportsmen and women as well as coaches and other officials towards training for the development of championship skills.

JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

The racial policy of South Africa in sport has led to worldwide reactions because it generally infringes on the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights. As a consequence, a number of international organizations have taken actions as countervailing force to effect change in the South African apartheid sport policy. Some of these organizations are the UN, IOC, OAU, SCSA and the International Federations of Amateur Sports.

Nigeria, as a member of these international organizations, has actively supported the actions taken against South Africa. From a careful review of related literature it was evident that references to Nigeria's

actions relating to the apartheid policy in South Africa reflect largely its political, economic and military stance. Some of the relevant publications by the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA) are described below. They include, "Death for Apartheid" by Colonel Mamman Vatsa, which was published in 1978. This sixteen-page pamphlet is a collection of poems which form chants suitable for military marching. Another publication was originally delivered as a lecture on 26th October 1976 by M.G. Buthlezi, titled "Human Rights and Constitutional Developments in South Africa". Also included was another lecture titled "International Law and the Southern African Situation" by I.E. Sagay.

The federal government publications also include documents related to apartheid South Africa. Some examples are the following: "A Time for Action", collected speeches of General Murtala Muhammed, the Head of Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1975 to 1976. The collected speeches include an address to the OAU Summit Conference on 11 January 1976 in which the evil of apartheid policy in South Africa was attacked. Another federal government publication was an address titled "No Compromise with Apartheid", delivered by Lt. General O. Obasanjo, at the opening session to the World Conference for Action against Apartheid in Lagos, in 1977. There are also examples of government press releases related to apartheid; they include: Release No. 1290, Lagos, 13 October 1976 titled "Nigeria Pledges Continued Support for Armed Struggle against Apartheid Policy in South Africa"; Release No. 1920, Lagos, 26 October 1977 titled "Nigeria Calls for Oil and Arms Embargo against South Africa"; and Release No. 801, Lagos 21 May 1981, titled "Nigeria Fully Supports Comprehensive Sanctions against Fascist South Africa".

The Nigerian newspapers also reflect a number of features on South African apartheid policy. They report incidents of boycott actions

by Nigerian sport teams. None of these publications has presented an analytical account of Nigeria's stance on South Africa's apartheid sport policy based on a critical examination of the actions of Nigeria. Nothing has been done to examine and analyze the implications and effects of these actions on the sport environment of Nigeria. The absence of any previous research in this direction is a justification for this study. This writer is of the opinion that the study will be of significant interest to Nigeria because of the following reasons: sport has assumed an important place in the Nigerian society to the extent that both the federal and states governments' budget for its development. Participation at international sport competitions especially at the Commonwealth Games and at the Olympic Games have generated a great interest in the country since Nigeria joined the Olympic movement. Generous public donations and contributions by the governments have always been raised to support the participation of the national teams at these prestigious international games. It is therefore only natural to expect similar interest in a study which seeks, among other reasons, to investigate and analyze the implications and effects of actions relating to the South African apartheid sport policy on the Nigerian sport environment.

CHAPTER II

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

This study lasted from April 1981 to the period of compilation for presentation in 1983. The historical method was used, involving: collection of all available facts or data; external and internal criticism of data; organization of the study; analysis and synthesis of the data, before the writing and compilation of the dissertation.

A. Collection of Data

The search for data collection was not limited to the early stages of the investigation when the exercise was concentrated. It continued into the later part of the research. The sources of the data collected were as follows:

- (i) Correspondence:¹ Letters were sent to a number of officials who were considered to be in possession of documents relevant to the study requesting them to provide the researcher with such items.
- (ii) Libraries: The libraries used included those at the University of Alberta; the Library of South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC) in London; the Library of the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs in Lagos; and the Library of the University of Lagos. The library sources were to locate relevant publications including books, journals, newspapers, government publications; others include publications of international organizations (UN in particular), unpublished theses and dissertations.
- (iii) Films: Films on South Africa's race relations and sports were viewed in order to gain an insight into the situation in that region.
- (iv) Questionnaires:² There were nine different types of questionnaires.

The first type of questionnaire was of an open-ended nature based on a film on South African apartheid sport. The purpose was to gather the suggestions and opinions of those who watched the film as to what could be done to change the South African apartheid policy in sport. The other eight types of questionnaires were also open-ended and designed to collect information on the views of the respondents with respect to the actions taken by Nigeria as a means of counter-viewing the South African apartheid sport policy.

Pilot test of questionnaires: The original drafts of the questionnaires were presented to a group of selected academic staff and graduate students in the Department of Physical Education at the University of Alberta in order to test for content validity and reliability. "Content validity is directly applicable without using statistical procedures, may be observed and inferred based upon question content, and it is easy to apply and is not time consuming" (Black and Champion, 1976, p. 233). The selected group for the pilot test criticized the questions for validity and reliability, and indicated amendments where applicable. Suggestions which emerged from the pilot test were reflected in the final format of the questionnaires.

(v) Interviews:³ The questions for the interviews were based on the contents of the questionnaires already described in the preceding section. The "non-directive" approach and the "focused interview" technique were used. The non-directive approach gave the interviewees the opportunity to express themselves about matters of central significance to them, rather than those presumed to be important by the interviewer. For example, Obasogie, one of the athletes interviewed, among other things said: "the government decision-makers at the top do not consider that some of these athletes will get old, especially when you know that you

are good, you want to win something and make a name. The time really goes against you. . . ." It would appear that the chances of winning an Olympic medal at the age he felt competent of doing so was of significance to him. The focused interview technique assisted in drawing a detailed report on some of the important elements of the study. For example, it became clear that members of the IOC had been alerted of a possible boycott of the 1976 Montreal Olympics about three years prior to that date, when one considers an answer given by the President of the Nigerian Olympic Committee in which he stated that a notice for a possible boycott of the 1976 Olympics was indicated "as far back as 1973 . . . during the Olympic Congress in Varna, Bulgaria."

B. Criticism of the Data

The documents which were collected were subjected to scrutiny for external and internal criticisms before they were accepted for use.

- (i) External criticism: The authorship and date of documents were determined by verification for authenticity of evidence.
- (ii) Internal criticism: The credibility of the evidence was established by the investigator after the following exercise:
 - (a) consulted reference work when required to ascertain facts;
 - (b) ascertained the meaning conveyed in the evidence;
 - (c) ensured that evidence was devoid of conflicts.

C. Organization of the Study⁴

See the content table for the study, and also the horizontal analysis of the dissertation at the end of this chapter.

D. Analysis and Synthesis of Data

Each chapter was initially treated as a unit for the purpose of

analysis and synthesis. The elements in the evidence in respect of such units were identified and then broken into components. The components were then compared and combined for generalizations and inferences against the background of the hypotheses of the research. The outcome of this exercise in respect of each chapter forms the basis for the discussion of the study in the later part of the study.

TABLE I
HORIZONTAL ANALYSIS OF THE STUDY

SPORT AND POLITICS: THE STANCE OF NIGERIA ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN APARTHEID POLICY IN SPORT 1960 TO 1982

Statement of the Problem: To identify and analyze the actions taken by Nigeria relative to the South African apartheid policy in sport with particular reference to the impact of these actions on the Nigerian sport environment, 1960 to 1982.

Sub-Problems	What facts were needed?	Where and how obtained?	How were facts analyzed?	The Outcome
1. What is the history of South African apartheid policy in sport?	The development of apartheid in South Africa's sport.	Survey of related literature in libraries. Survey of related documents from pro- and anti-apartheid organizations. Review of selected related films.	External criticism of documents to determine authenticity. Grouping of evidence into relationships. Analysis and synthesis of data. Narrative description of data in chronological order.	Background knowledge of South Africa's apartheid policy in sport.
2. What is the history of Nigeria's foreign policy with reference to apartheid in South Africa from 1960-1982?	The foreign policy of Nigeria on the South African apartheid, and the factors responsible for the foreign policy from 1960-1982.	Survey of books and related documents on Nigeria's foreign policy in libraries including the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, Lagos. Interviews with officials of the Ministry of External Affairs, Lagos.	External criticism of documents to determine authenticity, internal criticism of evidence gathered to establish credibility. Analysis and synthesis of data. Historical method of narration in chronological order.	A body of knowledge on Nigeria's foreign policy on South African apartheid policy from 1960 to 1982.
3. What actions has Nigeria taken towards changing the South African apartheid policy in sport?	Details of actions taken by Nigeria relating to South Africa's apartheid sport policy; including Nigeria's role in international organizations which take action on South Africa's apartheid sport policy.	Review of related literature, documents, resolutions, agreements by international organizations on South African apartheid sport policy. Perusal of files and interview of officials in the External Affairs Ministry, Lagos. Interviews with the Presidents NOC, SCSA and also with the IOC member in Nigeria.	External and internal criticisms of documents and evidence respectively, for authenticity and credibility. Analysis and synthesis of data. Descriptive account of the data.	Identification of Nigeria's role on actions taken by some international organizations on South African racial sport policy. Also identification of independent action by Nigeria.
4. What are the impacts of actions taken by Nigeria on world view, or on South Africa's apartheid policy in sport?	Facts about the impact of Nigeria's actions on world view through some international organizations. And on South Africa, if any.	Survey of related literature, newspapers, journals in libraries on the effect of Nigeria's role and actions on international organizations, e.g., UN, OAU, Commonwealth, IOC, SCSA.	External and internal criticisms of documents and evidence respectively, for authenticity and credibility. Analysis and synthesis of data. Narrative description of data.	Identification of the effect of Nigeria's actions on world views, and South Africa's.
5. What are the impacts of Nigeria's actions on the sport environment in Nigeria?	The effect of Nigeria's actions on sport in Nigeria, and on her international sport competitions.	Responses to questionnaires and interviews of Nigerian athletes, coaches, sport administrators. Formal and informal interviews with selected editors of news media in Nigeria. Survey of newspapers and journals.	External criticism of documents. Transcription of recorded interviews. Internal criticism of evidence from documents, interviews and questionnaires. Analysis and synthesis of data. Narrative description of data based on interpretations, inferences, generalizations related to the problem and the hypotheses of the research.	Identification of the effect of Nigerian actions on sport in Nigeria. Summary and conclusions. Recommendations.

Footnotes to Chapter II

¹See Appendix 1 for list of Correspondence.

²See Appendix 2 for list of Questionnaires.

³See Bibliography for the listing of the Interviews.

⁴See Table I for the Horizontal Analysis of the Study.

CHAPTER III

THE SOUTH AFRICAN APARTHEID SPORT POLICY: A HISTORICAL REVIEW

South Africa is a complex pluralistic society comprised of peoples from different historical and cultural backgrounds. According to "figures extracted from Department of Statistics Republic of South Africa - 1978" (Ramsammy, 1980, p. 2), the population was officially classified as follows:

- African - Population 18,759,000. This category is used to denote the descendants of the original inhabitants of South Africa. They are referred to as "Bantu" or "Black" in some South African government publications. By government proclamation Africans have been grouped into nine nations.
- Whites - Population 4,363,000. This population is made up of descendants of British settlers who are English speaking; and descendants of Dutch, German and French settlers who speak Afrikaans.
- Coloured - Population 2,431,000. This category is persons of mixed African, Asian and white ancestry.
- Asian - Population 765,000. These people are mainly descendants of Indian labourers brought by the British in the 19th Century. Also Indian and Chinese traders who emigrated to South Africa.

"The contacts and conflicts which have occurred between these groups and sub-groups in the past three centuries have had a direct bearing on the attitudes and policies which prevail today" (Lemon, 1976, p. 3). In order to understand the nature of the frictions which have occurred

among the racial groups and how they have relevance to the current policies of "separate development" of the South African government, an outline of selected historical evidence is required. This chapter will attempt to present a summary of critical points in the history of South Africa which have a bearing on the development of sport policies in that region. A general chronological approach will be adopted in the presentation.

A Background History of South Africa from Settlement to the Last Year in the Commonwealth 1652-1960

There appears to be unanimity within the historical records with respect to the people who were the first to inhabit South Africa. The accounts of Frye (1968), Sacks (1967) and Lemon (1976) indicate that the original inhabitants of that region were native Africans, the Bushmen and Hottentots who were brown-skinned hunters and cattlemen. Similarly the RSA Official Yearbook 1980/81 which credited Portuguese ships as the first European vessels to round the Cape of South Africa, also acknowledged the existence of the native brown-skinned inhabitants. It records the following:

In . . . 1488 Bartholomew Diaz [a Portuguese] in command of two caravels, discovered what was subsequently named the Cape of Good Hope, and rounded the southernmost tip of the continent of Africa . . . but in all this time South Africa remained . . . unexplored land whose brown-skinned men the Portuguese encountered when they filled their barrels at watering places, bartered sheep or cattle, or found themselves shipwrecked on the coast (1980/81, p. 3).

These Portuguese crews were enroute to East India and Asia on trading expeditions. In 1652 a Dutch crew under the command of Jan Van Riebeeck set up the first permanent settlement on the coast of South Africa. The crew was sent by the Dutch East India Company with specific instructions which included the following:

. . . to build a fort and hospital, and to provide meat and fresh vegetables for passing ships . . . to keep peace with the Hottentot

cattle-breeders with whom [they] would barter for . . . supply (RSA Official Yearbook, 1980/81, p. 3).

These regulations recognized the need to "keep peace" with the original inhabitants. The level of social organization maintained by these native inhabitants was visible. It has been described as consisting "of hunting parties numbering between fifty and a hundred people. . . . Among the herders . . . the number acknowledging one chief might reach 2,500" (Lemon, 1976, p. 4).

Apart from the Dutch Company crew there were other people who settled as 'free burghers' at that time; these included some non-official Europeans, and also "about 2,000 French Huguenots who fled from France to the Netherlands and subsequently emigrated to South Africa between 1688 and 1700 . . . the Huguenots intermarried with the Dutch burghers, helping in the process to stabilize the 'free' White population" (Lemon, 1976, p. 9).

The Origins of Population Differentiation

The need by the white settlers for more human labour to raise the required vegetables and to maintain the growing acres of farmland led to the introduction of slaves into South Africa. According to Lemon, "in the first ten years of European settlement at the Cape, a few hundred slaves from west coast of Africa were brought in. After 1662 slaves were imported from Mozambique and Madagasca and from the Dutch East India Company's sphere of influence in the East" (1976, p. 13). The initial criterion for status differentiation among the Dutch, the slaves and the native inhabitants was religion. In this regards, "baptism granted legal and, to a considerable extent, social equality with the Dutch settlers . . . marriages between Whites and slaves, as well as between Whites and Hottentots, were socially approved and sanctioned" (Louw, 1977,

p. 93). This initial relationship contributed largely to the coloured population in South Africa. The position was eventually changed towards the end of the 17th Century.

The whites were later prohibited from marrying 'full-colour' slaves while legal unions were allowed between whites and 'half-breeds'. This change gradually led to the control over inter-racial relationships, and it eventually provided the basis for the South African government differentiation of its population into the four racial categories already described at the beginning of this chapter. This classification was officially effected by the Population Registration Act, No. 30 of 1950.

The Colonization of South Africa

The rule of the Dutch East India Company which led the way in the introduction of white population into South Africa ended by 1795. By that time the Company had gone bankrupt. What followed immediately has been described as follows:

When the French revolutionary armies invaded Holland in 1795, Britain occupied the Cape by arrangement with the Dutch King. By the Treaty of Amiens (1802) the Cape was restored not to the Company, which was now bankrupt, but to the (Dutch) Batavian Republic. The latter ruled the Cape for only three years before Britain realised that it would endanger her trade with the East if the Cape were to remain in the hands of an ally of France. She therefore occupied the Cape and retained it until the Act of Union in 1910 (Lemon, 1976, p. 10).

During the British occupation, the nonwhite population was to live in a relatively free environment. During this period of occupation slave trade and slavery was abolished by the British government. Sacks (1967), explained that the Act of 1807 which had abolished slave trade in the British Empire was forthwith extended to the newly acquired offspring (p. 4). The end followed in 1833 when Great Britain abolished slavery throughout

its Empire and provided at that time compensation for owners as a consequence of their loss of their slaves. In Cape Colony it meant freedom for about 39,000 slaves whose names appeared on the slave registry at the time.

The Dutch population of slave owners were displeased by the British policy of emancipation for the slaves and the Act is considered to be largely responsible for the historic Great Trek by the Boers. According to Sacks (1967),

The Great Trek of 1836 involved more than a protest against British meddling in Boer relations with non-Europeans. . . . The Boers considered the monetary compensation for the loss of their slaves inadequate. . . . But by and large, the explosive factor was the refusal of British authorities to acquiesce in the Boer thesis that the native had been meant to be servant of white man. . . . The Great Trek lasted from 1836 to 1843 and embraced more than 12,000 people. It has been likened to the wandering of the children of Israel (pp. 6-7).

The Great Trek years 1836 to 1843 fell within the period 1771-1877 which was characterized by "a series of so-called Kaffir wars" (Adam, 1971, p. 24). By 1771, "the idea of caste system had been well established [among] the Boers . . . [who were] referred to as Voortrekkers and later became known as Afrikaners" (Louw, 1977, p. 96). In an attempt to adduce the basis for the Boers' caste system, a writer argued that:

In the absence of formal education and sufficient pastors, the Boers found justification for their beliefs and way of life in the Old Testament, particularly in the experiences of the children of Israel in their search for the Promised Land (Lemon, 1976, p. 20).

The account of Michener of a hypothetical discussion among the Boers during the period under consideration complements the views of Lemon.

The account in part includes the following:

. . . but Jakoba Van Doorn, the quiet unlettered women . . . spoke with fierce determination: The Bible says that the sons of Ham shall work for us and be our slaves. The Bible says there shall be a proper difference between master and slave. The Bible says we shall keep apart, His people to themselves the Canaanites to themselves (Michener, 1980, p. 429).

These suggestions appear to explain in part the basis for the "potent irony . . . of a regime that . . . views itself as a Christian theocracy" (Regehr, 1979, p. 11). The Great Trek was immediately followed by the British proclamations of the Queen's sovereignty over Natal in 1843 and over Orange Free State and the Transvaal in 1848 (Sacks, 1967, p. 7). Britain recognized Transvaal, and Orange Free State as sovereign states in 1852 and 1854 respectively; and maintained the British rule over Natal and Cape. The RSA Official Yearbook 1980/81 documents this as follows:

The events set in motion by the Great Trek had, in fewer than 20 years, 'balkanised' South Africa, dividing it into two independent Boer republics, one north and one south of the Vaal River and two British colonies, Cape and Natal (p. 41).

The four territories namely: the British Cape, and Natal Colonies, and the Boer republics of Transvaal, and the Orange Free State were, in 1910, eventually united to form one country, a member of the British Commonwealth with the name the Union of South Africa.

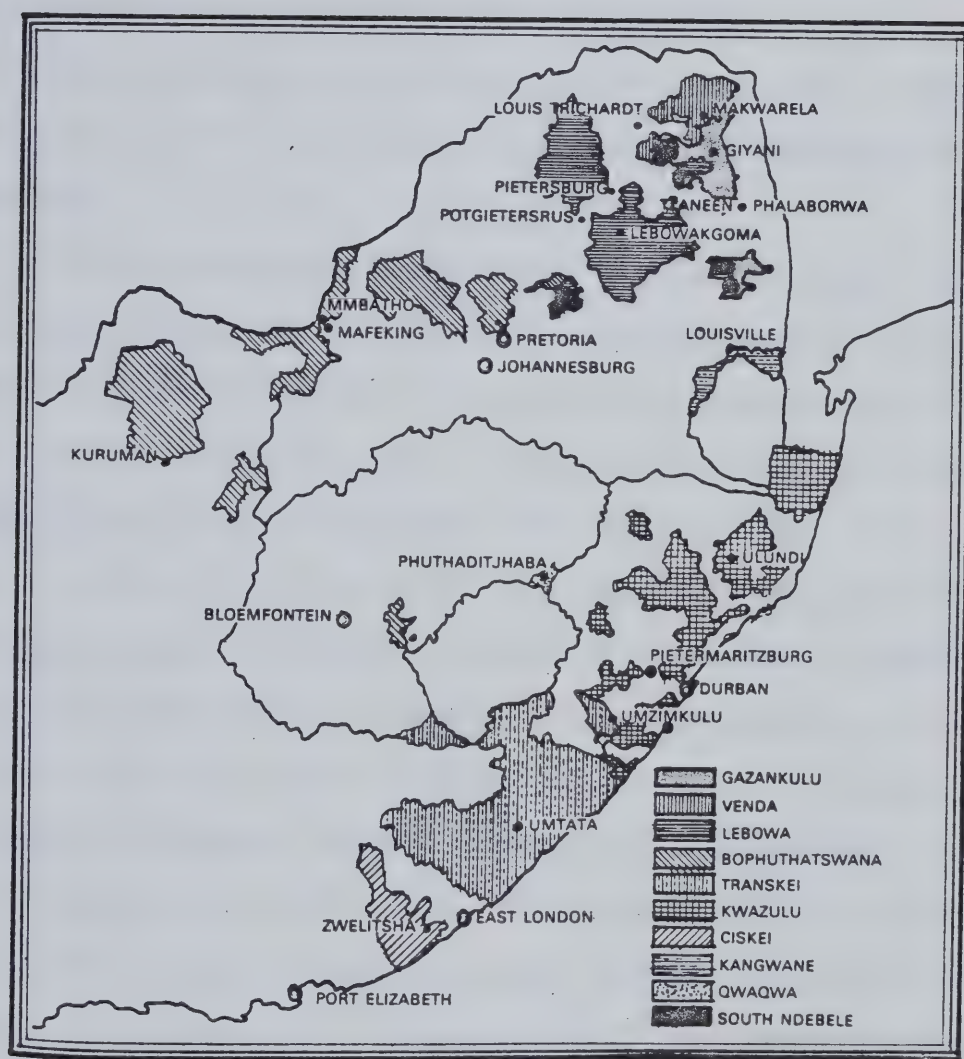
The Union of South Africa as Member of the British Commonwealth

This section will highlight some political events between 1910, the first year of the Union of South Africa and 1960, the last year of the country as a member of the British Commonwealth. The events have been selected primarily as a consequence of their ultimate implications for sport. For the purpose of the present considerations the incidents are classified into two categories namely domestic and international. The domestic events will be considered first.

Two of the earliest acts passed by the first union government of South Africa had as their focus the matter of land. Such an occurrence was not unexpected considering the conflicts between the white settlers and the native blacks which centred around land dispute.

Disputes of this nature date back to the year of initial contacts. In 1913 the Natives Land Act No. 27 was established. The outcome of this Act was to reserve more than 80 percent of the total land of the country for the whites which comprised about 25 percent of the population. About 12 percent of the land surface was left for the blacks which represents about 70 percent of the total population of the country. "The African reserves¹, which cover 12 percent of the territory . . . are underdeveloped, overpopulated and overstocked. Africans are not entitled . . . to acquire freehold title to land anywhere in South Africa" (Mezerik, 1964, p. 5). Such was the effect of the 1913 Natives Land Act No. 27. In 1945 the Native (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act became operative. The Act "empowers any local authority to make regulations, requiring the approval of the Administrator and the Minister, providing for the prohibition or regulation of the entry or sojourn in a location, native village, or hostel of any person not resident therein" (Ramsamy, 1980, p. 11). These Acts have their negative effects on sports among the non whites. Considering the overpopulation on the land reserved for Africans, a situation directly attributable to the Natives Land Act of 1913, it is unlikely that there was suitable land to spare for providing sport grounds in large numbers to serve the black population even if other handicaps were removed. Similarly, the powers granted under the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1945 to prohibit entry of persons into certain areas has been used to deny nonwhites to acquire suitable land for sport facilities.

The next significant development was the 1948 election results in South Africa which represents one of the most important political events in the history of the country. The Afrikaner Nationalist Party won the election primarily as a consequence of the promise to adopt an



Consolidated Homelands with borders as approved by parliament in 1975

Figure 1. Republic of South Africa showing Black Homelands.

South African Institute of Race Relations. A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa. Johannesburg, 1978, p. 269.

apartheid policy. One of the documents circulated by the Party as a part of its platform was a statement which read, in part: "Either we follow the course of equality, which must eventually mean national suicide for the white race, or we must take the course of separatism (apartheid)" (Frye, 1968, p. 201). With the results of the election the control of government assisted the Afrikaner to transform their "white supremacy from a customary practice to a legal system" (Frye, 1968, p. 201); also since after the 1948 elections the cabinet has consisted entirely of Afrikaners.

The new government acted swiftly to introduce another act on the chronic issue relating to land. This became known as the Group Areas Act of 1950. This Act forced residential segregation of each racial group. The implementation resulted in the removal of nonwhite residents from areas which had been their home for generations. In its essence, the Act divided South Africa areas of occupancy and residency according to race. It forbade the entry of individuals of another racial group into location of another race without special permission from the authorities appointed by government. This law has been used extensively to prevent, among other forms of social exchange, inter-racial sporting activities. It has also served to justify police arrests of sportsmen and women who have attempted to play multiracial sport. The outcome of this law along with others appears to enforce segregation in South Africa, which affects sport in that society.

The Afrikaner Nationalist government enacted other laws in the 1950's which have been detrimental to the practice of multiracial sport; two of them were the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act.No. 49 of 1953, and the Native Laws Amendment Act No. 36 of 1957. The former of these two Acts provided that any person who was in charge of or had

control of any public premises or public vehicle might, whenever he deemed it expedient, reserve such facility or any portion of it for the exclusive use of persons belonging to a particular race or class. This law had the effect of barring nonwhite sportspersons from using sport facilities on the pretext that they have been reserved for a particular race. However, foreign nonwhites who are exempted from the provision of this Act are regarded as "honorary whites". When on rare occasions, "nonwhite sportsmen from overseas do compete in South Africa against whites (some Japanese since 1963, the Iranian Davis Cup team in 1969, and Sir Ade Ademola as a member of the IOC Commission in 1967), [Arthur Ashe, the black American tennis star in 1973, some Maoris from New Zealand in 1970] they are classified as "honorary whites" (Lapchick, 1975, p. 12). The Native Laws Amendment Act No. 36 of 1957 empowers the government appointed officers in charge of facility, the refusal of permission to Africans who apply to attend social activities including sport outside the native residential areas, if, in the opinion of the appropriate government official, the presence of such Africans is deemed to be undesirable. Black South Africans have been prevented on many occasions from watching matches between the whites and visiting teams.

The implementations of the South African racial laws were not unnoticed by the outside world; a number of actions were taken by some international organizations to persuade the government to change its policies. In 1950, the UN General Assembly established a three-member Commission to study the racial situation in the Union of South Africa. In August 1953, the Commission disclosed that "the doctrine of racial differentiation and superiority on which the apartheid policy is based is scientifically false, extremely dangerous to internal peace and international relations" (Frye, 1968, p. 202). This report represents

a challenge to the claim of inferiority in sport excellence earlier used to deprive nonwhite sportsmen and women of opportunities to compete with white athletes in South Africa, thereby perpetuating segregation in sport.

Inside South Africa itself the apartheid laws which segregate the population were resented by the nonwhites in a number of ways including protests by peaceful demonstrations. On 21 March 1960, the police at Sharpeville killed 72 unarmed Africans with machine guns, and wounded 178 others. At Langa Township police killed 6 and wounded 30 Africans. They were engaged in a nonviolent protest against the pass laws - the laws which require the nonwhites to carry 'reference books', and which also control the movement of Africans. The killing incident attracted worldwide reactions against South Africa's apartheid policies probably more than any other event by that time. Between 24 March and 1 April, 1960, "at the request of 29 African and Asian States, [the UN] Security Council meets to consider the situation arising out of the large-scale killings of unarmed and peaceful demonstrators against racial discriminations . . ." (Mezerik, 1964, p. 63). The UN Security Council declared the situation as a further danger to international security.²

The independent African States held a conference in Addis Ababa in June, 1960, to consider further actions to be taken against South Africa with respect to its racial policies. There is a need to clarify at this point that this conference of the African States was not the Organization of African Unity (OAU) which was yet to come into existence. The former did provide the nucleus of the OAU which was formerly inaugurated in May 1963.³ The conference of the independent African States passed eight-point resolutions which urged the African Commonwealth member states to press for the expulsion of South Africa from the

Commonwealth. The resolutions also called for sanctions against South Africa, sanctions which included the severing of diplomatic relations with South Africa, the boycotting of South African goods and the refusal of landing and passage rights to South African aircraft. The sanctions were carried out against South Africa. The actions on some of them reported in South Africa were as follows:

It was announced during July [1960] that the Ghana Government had decided that all its ports and airports would be closed to South African shipping and aircrafts except in cases of distress. A South African citizen would only be permitted to enter Ghana . . . if he declared before Ghana officials his opposition to apartheid and other forms of racial discrimination. . . . According to a Press report the Nigerian Government was also considering refusing facilities to South African aircraft (Horrell, 1959-1960, p. 286).

It would appear that the white population of South Africa felt the impact of the reactions against the Sharpeville police killings. Concern was expressed in one government statement that "the incident at Sharpeville elicited in the outside world a furore of condemnation against the South African Government. No reasonable explanation could prevail" (RSA Official Yearbook, 1980/81, p. 52).

In October, 1960, a referendum by the white population in South Africa was held to choose whether or not to remain as a member of the British Commonwealth. The referendum resulted in the breaking with the British Crown. Probably the following reasons would have influenced the result: the series of attacks from the outside world against the incidents resulting from the racial policies of South Africa at that time; the Afrikaner-controlled government disfavour owing any allegiance to the British Crown, partly because of their Dutch background, and partly because of their opposition to the British policy of emancipation for the nonwhite South Africans. The outcome of the referendum appears to have strengthened the position of the South African government with

respect to their pursuance of an apartheid policy which affects all human endeavour in this troubled country. Sport programmes were among those adversely affected.

The events highlighted in the foregoing paragraphs are among the incidents which marked the last year of the Union of South Africa as a member of the British Commonwealth.

The State of Sport in South Africa

Following the historical review presented earlier, some evidence which exemplifies the South African apartheid policy in sport during the period in 1960 requires identification. Of importance to this study is an examination of the reaction of the world of sport to the South African apartheid policy. It is expected that this approach will facilitate an understanding of the background against which Nigeria's stance on the South African Apartheid policy in sport must be assumed.

Historically, "modern European sport was first introduced into South Africa by the British Army and British settlers" (Ramsamy, 1980, p. 2). This was a consequence of the British occupation of the Cape in the 1790s as indicated under the Colonization of South Africa. "Between 1875 and 1910 most of the all-white sporting bodies were admitted to international and/or Commonwealth co-ordinating bodies [in sports]" (Brickhill, 1976, p. 6). This action enabled the white South African sportsmen and women to compete at the international level. During this time frame nonwhites were not allowed to participate at national open championships or represent the country abroad, on the pretext that no blacks were good enough to compete at those levels. Many nonwhite sportsmen have proved the contrary. The extract which follows reflects the names of some such athletes:

In 1947, Ron Eland left South Africa where he had been completely unrecognised. By 1948, he was representing England at the Olympic Games in weightlifting. Jake N'Tuli, who could not box for South Africa, became the British flyweight champion in 1952. David Samaai, a non-white tennis star who could not compete in South Africa, played at Wimbledon in 1954. Four exiles starred in soccer abroad: David Julius played in Portugal; Steve Mokone in Holland, Italy, and Spain. . . . Kaiser Motaung . . . became the most valuable player in the United States soccer league; and Albert Johanneson . . . who starred for Leeds United. Two weightlifters left South Africa for England: Reg Hlongwane . . . and Precious McKenzie, who became the British Commonwealth weightlifting champion . . . (Lapchick, 1975, p. 10).

Apart from the handicaps imposed upon the nonwhite competitors, the implementation of some of the laws has prevented nonwhite spectators from viewing sporting events; for example, "Bloemfontein City Council . . . ruled that black spectators could not attend a new stadium. Blacks were prohibited from watching a rugby match between Britain and South Africa because [according to the Council] it would cause friction" (Brickhill, 1976, p. 7). It is relevant to clarify that there were no specific laws which prohibit inter-racial sport. An Indian South African golfer Sewsunker 'Papwa' Sewgolum "has twice won the Dutch Open Championships (in 1959 and 1960) . . . and became the first nonwhite competitor to win a major golf title . . ." (Draper, 1963, pp. 36-37). During the year 1960 Basil D'Oliviera, a coloured cricket player, was included in the South African cricket team which toured England. In boxing, before Jake N'Tuli left for England out of frustration of being discriminated against, he "sparring regularly with Vic Toweel, the white boxer who was then South African World Bantamweight Boxing Champion" (Ramsammy, 1980, p. 5). Instances such as these were probably allowed either as a means of propaganda for "mixed sport" or because of other advantages derivable from such inter-racial competitions by the white sport administrators.

In an effort to provide opportunities for nonwhite sportsmen to

participate in well-organized events, sport associations for these groups were established at various levels: local, provincial and national. Their functions were, unfortunately, seriously limited. From the beginning, the white national sport bodies have been affiliated with most of the international sport federations. Almost without exception these international bodies recognize only one national affiliate. In the case of South Africa that has been the "white" sport associations. Consequently it has been difficult for the nonwhite sport associations to gain access to the international federations. Another problem encountered by the nonwhite sport bodies results from the segregation policy of the government. "Separate bodies [of a sport association] had to be formed for Africans, Indians, and coloureds because they were socially and residentially segregated by the whites" (Brickhill, 1976, p. 6). The white national sport federations have taken advantage of such situations by offering affiliation, without voting rights, to factions of the nonwhite bodies. The other faction, which generally advocates non-racial discrimination in sport is frequently in conflict with the white sport federations which discriminate on racial basis. The set up within the sport of soccer during the early months of 1960 exemplifies this situation:

There are three controlling bodies in the soccer world in South Africa. The Football Association of SA (FASA) is a white body, and represents South Africa on the Federation of International Football Association (FIFA). It has offered affiliation without voting rights to the other two bodies. One of these, the SA Bantu Soccer Federation accepted the offer; but the other, the Soccer Federation of Southern Africa (SFSA) aims at achieving full recognition by FIFA rather than accepting subservient associate membership through the white body.

Until recently SFSA was composed of three separate organizations - the Indian, Coloured and African Football Associations. . . . During October 1960, however, these three organizations decided to merge (Horrell, 1960, p. 264).

In the circumstances where the policy of sport in the country was not free from the nation's political and social policy, and as the white sporting bodies appeared not willing to adopt a more liberal outlook towards the nonwhites, it became imperative for the nonwhite sport organizations to campaign for recognition both at home and outside the country. As a result of this need, "In 1955 the Committee for International Recognition was formed in Durban. Its aim was to get South African non-racial bodies affiliated to international sport federations" (Ramsammy, 1980, p. 7). Within one year, the efforts of the committee appeared to be rewarded as evident in the following:

In 1956 for the first time an international body, the International Table Tennis Federation, expelled the white South African body because of racial discrimination and recognised the South African Table Tennis Board [SATTB], which represented blacks but was pledged to non-racialism. The original decision of the ITTF was to recognise both bodies, but when blacks were banned as spectators during a tour by Israel, the ITTF withdrew its recognition of the white body (Brickhill, 1976, p. 8).

Following the success realized by the SATTB, other nonwhite sport associations made attempts to gain international recognition. The South African Cricket Board of Control (SACBC) applied to the Imperial Cricket Conference for membership in 1956. The application was rejected. The South African Weight-Lifting and Body-Building Federation applied to participate in the 1960 Rome Olympics. The IOC did not act on the application. In cycling, the nonwhite body pressed for representation at international competitions. Although the nonwhites could not be admitted by the South African Amateur Cycling Federation as such, it did say that "it would be willing to assist the nonwhite bodies and would consider sending qualified nonwhite cyclists overseas to compete. Thus, the pressures were bringing compromises at this early stage" (Lapchick, 1975, p. 25). The government reactions to this trend of

events was announced by its Minister of Interior Dr. T.E. Dinges on 27 June 1956. An extract from the statement is as follows:

1. Whites and Non-Whites should organize their sporting activities separately;
2. There should be no inter-racial competitions within the Union's borders;
3. Sportsmen from other lands should respect the Union's customs;
4. Non-White sportsmen from outside would not be debarred from entering South Africa to compete with Non-Whites;
5. Non-White sports organizations seeking international recognition [are required] to do so through the aegis of White associations already enjoying such benefits; and
6. No travel facilities would be granted to people for activities designed to force the country to abandon its tradition of racial divisions (Horrell, 1955-1956, p. 227).

The conditions contained in the statement are measures designed to further discourage non-racial sport advocates in South Africa. With the government sport policy as a guide, the South Africa Olympic Council (SAOC) in November 1957 announced that "no competition in sport between Whites and Non-Whites would be permitted in affiliated sports associations in the Union" (Horrell, 1956-1957, p. 220). That meant that the factions of the nonwhite associations which affiliated with the white bodies would be barred from competing with athletes from the white affiliated bodies. The situation became more frustrating to the nonwhite population; it was therefore no surprise that "On December 26, nonwhites booed the South African cricket team in a test match against the Australian team in Johannesburg" (Lapchick, 1975, p. 26). It seems likely that this action was taken to express their disgust for the recently announced sport policy.

In 1958, among the incidents relating to race relations in sport, five were outstanding. Three of the incidents occurred within South Africa, while the other two happened at the international scene. The first within the country was a direct reaction to the previous year's

booing incident. For that reason, "at the end of January 1958, the Northern Transvaal Amateur Athletic Union announced that they would allow no nonwhite spectators to view meets in Pretoria" (Lapchick, 1975, p. 27). In the second incident, "passports were denied to representatives of the non-racial South African Soccer Federation (SASF) who had intended to put SASF's case for admission to the international body (FIFA) at its congress . . ." (Brickhill, 1976, p. 9). The third situation was focussed upon the formation of the South African Association (SASA), "as a counter to the white Olympic and Empire Games Association. Its main objective was to fight for complete elimination of racial discrimination in sport in South Africa" (Ramsamy, 1980, p. 7). The first incident at the international scene was the decision of FIFA to reject SASF's application because its representative could not attend the FIFA's congress to present their case. To the disappointment of SASF, "in June, FIFA made a complete about-face and recognised the all-white FASA as the only governing body for football in South Africa" (Lapchick, 1975, p. 27). The second international incident, and the last of the five examples, took place in July, 1958, during the Sixth British Empire and Commonwealth Games in Cardiff, Wales. A part of what happened was recorded as follows:

A number of demonstrations against the method of selecting teams from South Africa threatened the beginning of the Games: "More than 500 people at a meeting at Cardiff on Saturday unanimously adopted a resolution expressing 'profound concern' at the action of the South African Olympic and Commonwealth Games Association in selecting a team "based on colour and not ability" for the 1958 British Empire Games. . . . Also, in London, a group of leading British athletes registered their protest on the same issue (Agbogun, 1970, p. 117).

This incident represents a significant historical event in the fight against racial discrimination in sport in South Africa. It marked the first time that a public demonstration on the issue involving hundreds

of people was staged outside of South Africa itself.

In 1959 SASA, which was formed towards the end of the previous year, had its inaugural conference on 10-11 January in Durban. On that occasion Alan Paton, the well known author and liberal political leader who delivered the inaugural address declared among other things that:

To my mind, sportsmanship and colour bar are incompatible. Sport is supposed to teach all those virtues that the colour bar destroys. Sport is supposed to teach people to know and respect one another, and to want to see fair play for all. Sport is supposed to teach us to admire prowess of others, not to want to restrict it. . . . Sport teaches self respect, but colour bar is contemptuous of self respect (Thompson, 1964, p. 31).

The membership of SASA was spread among the various sport codes "SASA represented 70,000 black sportsmen involved in athletics, cycling, cricket, football, weightlifting, tennis, table tennis, softball, netball and baseball" (Brickhill, 1976, p. 9). The secretary of SASA was Dennis Brutus who has continued in the fight for non-racial sports in South Africa up to the time of writing. The activities of SASA were prominent in its first year of existence. In March it successfully petitioned against, and stopped, a proposed cricket tour which was to have been undertaken by a West Indian cricket team of South Africa. It also successfully petitioned the Brazilian President who ordered the cancellation of a Brazilian football team's match against a white South African team. Following the petition of SASA "In August, the Brazilian chamber of deputies studied a bill declaring that 'Anyone who, in sports competitions abroad, submits himself or makes another submit himself to the rules resulting from race or colour prejudice, is liable to penal sanction'" (Lapchick, 1975, p. 30). The action of Brazil was significant because it marked the first occasion on which a government of another country was known to have taken such an action against apartheid

sports programs of South Africa. The campaign of SASA against racial discrimination in sport during its first two years of existence appear to be further encouraged by the reports which emerged from the May 1959 meeting of the IOC. It was disclosed that the Soviet Union pressed the Committee "to consider possible violations of its charter by the South African Olympic Committee [SAOC]" (Lapchick, 1975, p. 31). Mr. Reg Honey, President, SAOC, declared that "although some of its affiliated bodies had colour bars, his Association as such had not" (Horrell, 1958-1959, p. 298). Before the end of the meeting, the IOC, in a formal resolution, called upon Mr. Honey to watch against racial discrimination affecting the selection of teams from South Africa for international competitions.

The reaction of the South African government to the efforts of non-racial sports activists was the exercise of its powers over travel documents of persons known to be undertaking journeys either into or outward from South Africa for reasons relating to sport. Three such incidents during the year 1959, are cited as examples. The first occurred in February 1959, when an Indian flyweight boxer, Pancho Bathacaji was refused a visa to enter South Africa in order to fight the nonwhite champion Sexton Mebena, in Durban. In March, the government seized the passports "of the non-racial table tennis union to prevent them participating in world championships . . ." (Brickhill, 1976, p. 73). The final example happened in December when the government "denied visas to an Egyptian table tennis team that was coming to compete against a team sponsored by the nonwhite South African Table Tennis Board" (Lapchick, 1975, p. 31).

The trend continued into 1960 when "Mr. Dennis Brutus, the Secretary of the Sports Association [SASA] hoped to go to Rome to express the views

of his organization, but was denied a passport . . ." (Horrell, 1959-1960, p. 264).

Among other events which marked the efforts of non-racial bodies during 1960 two are listed below. The first was the petition of SASA against the New Zealand "All-Blacks" rugby tour of South Africa which was to be undertaken without the regular Maori members of the team because of the colour of their skins. The evidence became open when the South African Police searched the offices and residences of SASA officials ". . . when the police raided the homes of SASA leaders Dennis Brutus and S.K. Rangasamy. They seized . . . SASA's documents, including the petitions to Nash [New Zealand Prime Minister] . . . According to Dennis Brutus, some petitions with more than 7,500 signatures did reach Prime Minister Nash . . ." (Lapchick, 1975, p. 34). The second was a development within football federation in which FASA's position at the international level was threatened.

At a congress of FIFA held during August it was decided by 52 votes to [10] give FASA twelve months within which to comply with the non-discriminatory international soccer policy, failing which the latter body would lose its international recognition. Subsequently, however, it was reported that the British Football Association is to sponsor a move to enable both FASA and SFSA to enjoy status within FIFA (Horrell, 1959-1960, p. 264).

The non-racial SFSA body would regard the development as favourable to its cause.

It is evident from the foregoing examples that sport was not free from the effects of apartheid policy in South Africa up to the end of 1960. There has not been direct legislation preventing inter-racial sport, but it is clear that government policy does not favour mixed sport. Moreover, other racial laws did create obstacles for inter-racial sport. Above all, there has been government persecution⁴ of advocates of non-racial sport. International organizations including the

International Table Tennis Federation, the Federation of International Football Association, and the International Olympic Committee have had to deal with issues relating to racial discriminations in South African sport.

It is against this background that the stance of Nigeria on the South African apartheid policy in sport will be examined in the subsequent chapters. A selection of events between 1961 and 1982 relating to this issue will be presented here to illustrate some of the highlights in the history of apartheid sport of South Africa during the twenty-two year period.

In January 1961 the SASA, a non-racial body, held its first biennial conference possibly at its headquarters in Port Elizabeth. Mr. Reg Honey, the IOC member in South Africa, attended the conference. His presence appeared to be a gesture of a possible coming together of sports administrators from both the white (racial) and the non-racial sport governing bodies. At the meeting Mr. Honey explained the IOC policy of working through national associations, and the need for all sports bodies in South Africa to get together. In his speech there is evidence of his awareness of some of the problems with which the non-racial sports bodies had to contend. According to the report:

Mr. Honey conceded that Non-Whites had grounds for grievances in that, if they did affiliate, they were required by sporting bodies to elect Whites to represent them; also that separate trials for selection of candidates were unsatisfactory as weather conditions and tracks might vary. But he advised the S.A. Sports Association to accept this compromise, since it seemed to be the only way in which Non-White candidates could qualify for selection (Horrell, 1961, p. 274).

The report added that the SASA was not prepared to accept such a compromise. Rather, it "stood out for full and equal opportunities, and not the status of subservient affiliated bodies, represented by Whites"

(Horrell, 1961, p. 274).

By September 1961, the twelve months given to FASA in August 1960 by FIFA within which FASA was required to comply with the non-discriminatory international soccer policy ended without a significant change. FIFA's executive committee at its September 1961 meeting suspended FASA "because of alleged racial discrimination in South African soccer". During the same month the SASA petitioned the Commonwealth Games Federation to exclude South Africa from its Games. The petition was timely since South Africa had left the Commonwealth. It was therefore excluded from participation in the next Games which were held in Perth, Australia in 1962.

Following FASA's suspension from FIFA:

FASA moved to form a high-level committee with an equal representation of whites and nonwhites. The nonwhites would attend FASA's meetings and have a vote. Finally, if FIFA lifted the suspension, South Africa's team for the World Cup would be chosen strictly on merit (Lapchick, 1975, p. 43).

This move is a clear evidence which suggests that the white sport administrators tend to relax their racial policy in sport when they feel threatened by a possible isolation from international sport. However, government opposition to such concessions followed in 1962 when the Minister of Interior was reported to have said that:

The Government could not approve of participation by mixed White and Non-White teams from the Republic in world sports tournaments or competitions. Conversely, mixed teams from other countries could not be allowed into South Africa. Separate White and Non-White teams from South Africa would be allowed to compete in international meetings held outside the country's borders, provided that the organizers were not trying thereby to make the Government abandon its policy of separate development (Horrell, 1962, p. 213).

This could be embarrassing to both the non-racial sport bodies, and the whites who desired to comply with the non-racial policy as required by most international sport federations.

In June 1962, the South African Olympic Association was warned by the IOC that unless assurance was given by the former that the selection of its athletes would be on ability and not by the colour of the skin, it would be suspended from the Olympic movement. The consequence of such an action was that no member of a club represented through its national body on the South African Association could participate in the Olympic Games.

One other important event occurred during this time period. In 1962 the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC) was formed. It was an outgrowth of the SASA. According to the records of the South African Institute of Race Relations on this subject, SASA, through its circular to its affiliated bodies dated 9 July 1962, suggested that it be dissolved and that SANROC be set up in its place. The principal rationale for this action was to create a body which could apply to the IOC as the representative of South Africa in the Olympic movement. The upshot of such an action was that the white controlled South Africa Olympic and National Games Association would be expelled. Considering the fact that the white controlled South Africa Olympic Committee (SAOC) had been given official warning by the IOC because of its non-compliance with this requirement of non-discrimination in sport, it would appear that SANROC would have a chance of representing that country in the Olympic movement. In reality the situation has been unresolved up until the time of this study.

Following the IOC warning to SAOC in June 1962, there was no evidence supporting change. Therefore, the IOC, at its 1963 meeting in Baden-Baden gave SAOC to the 31 December 1963 in which to comply with the Olympic code of non-racial discrimination, and with ". . . Principle 1 and Rule 24 read together, . . . failing which the South African National

Olympic Committee will be debarred from entering its teams in the Olympic Games" (Lapchick, 1975, p. 52). The requirements of the two IOC rules are given as follows:

Rule 1 of its [IOC] constitution forbids discrimination on the grounds of race, religion, or political affiliation. Its Rule 24 provides . . . that national Olympic committees must be in a position to resist any political or other pressures that might cause them to depart from the Olympic principles (Horrell, 1964, p. 331).

The deadline of 31 December 1963 was extended to 15 January 1964. The South African Olympic and National Games Association (SAONGA) sent a memorandum to the IOC. It pledged that it would be loyal to the Olympic principles, and added that the South African government was not ready to change its racial policy as it may affect sport. During the next IOC meeting in late January 1964 at Innsbruck, a majority of members felt that some progress had been made by South Africa. As a consequence, a decision on whether or not to suspend SAONGA was deferred. The next action of SAONGA on this issue was recorded as follows:

The SAONGA arranged South African Games for Whites from 29 February to 9 March, and for Non-Whites from 24 April to 10 May. Whites and Non-Whites, respectively, from other countries were invited to compete. A committee of Non-Whites, assisted by SAONGA officials, was set up to organize the Non-White Games. National selectors from the various codes of sport were present at both series of games to make tentative selections for the Olympic Games . . . several Non-Whites were tentatively selected. SAONGA decided that both the White and the Non-White contestants would be awarded Springbok colours. . . . The resolution and a provisional list of contestants were sent to the IOC (Horrell, 1964, p. 333).

A reply by the IOC Executive Board expressed pleasure at the inclusion of nonwhites on the tentative list. But added that:

SAONGA had not yet replied to the condition laid down earlier under Rule 24: in effect, it had not publicly dissociated itself from the policy of segregation in sport, and the administration of sport, in South Africa. "The rescinding of the resolution withdrawing your invitation to the Tokyo Games cannot be considered until this condition is met. . ." (Horrell, 1964, p. 333).

From the evidence contained in the foregoing it would appear that if

the SAONGA had its way and if the administrators of the respective sport codes had cooperated with it, there might have been the possibility of meeting with the IOC requirements. The evidence also suggests that South African sport administrators tended to accede to the requirement for mixed sport in order to prevent a possible isolation of South Africa from international competitions.

Between 1964 and 1970, many anti-apartheid actions were taken at the international level; there were also a number of uncompromising actions taken by the government of South Africa. Some of these actions are indicated below. In 1964, FIFA reimposed the suspension on FASA after being lifted in the previous year. In September of 1964, the International Table Tennis Federation (ITTF) met in Prague where "it censured South Africa for continued [racial] discrimination in sport" (Lapchick, 1975, p. 65). In May 1966, the New Zealand Federation of Labour voted to refuse service to sports teams chosen on a racial basis. During the annual meeting of the International Amateur Athletic Federation (IAAF) in Budapest, it "adopted a weighted voting system that gave 37 predominantly white nations 244 votes and 99 predominantly nonwhite nations only 195 votes. The motion to exclude South Africa . . . was . . . defeated as a result of the new voting system" (Lapchick, 1975, p. 77). The above evidence suggests that there are more member countries of the IAAF which were opposed to the outcome of the voting to remove South Africa from its federation. In December 1966 SCSA⁵ was officially inaugurated in Bamako, Mali. The campaign against South Africa's apartheid in sport by the SCSA has been most persistent in the anti-apartheid actions by international organizations during the past fifteen years.

On 11 April 1967 Prime Minister Vorster declared in a speech before Parliament that apartheid sport would be strictly enforced. He stated that,

The policy of South Africa . . . is separate development. . . . I therefore want to make it quite clear that from South Africa's point of view no mixed sport between whites and non-whites will be practised locally, irrespective of the standard of proficiency of the participants. . . . We do not apply that as a criterion because our policy has nothing to do with proficiency or lack of proficiency . . . (Lapchick, 1975, p. 86).

His policy of sports at the international level was described as follows:

Mr. Vorster's policy so far as the Olympic Games are concerned, however, is that South Africa will have to comply with the requirements that only one team from each country may participate, and that the sportsmen selected must form one contingent, under their country's flag. . . . There would be no objection to the Canada Cup golf tournament or the Davis Cup tennis competition taking place in South Africa. . . . If South Africa was called upon to play against a Coloured team in the finals of such an international event, it would do so, whether within the country or outside (Horrell, 1968, p. 319).

It becomes apparent from these two statements that while South Africa insists on its apartheid sport policy in the name of "separate development", Vorster's government would accede to multiracial teams from South Africa for certain international sport competitions.

Under these circumstances the IOC, at its executive meeting at Tehran, in May 1967, appointed a fact-finding three-member commission to South Africa.

The IOC commission, headed by Lord Killanin of Ireland, visited South Africa during September, the other members being Sir Adetokunbo Ademola, Chief Justice of Nigeria, and Mr. Reggie S. Alexander, President of Kenya's Olympic Association (Horrell, 1967, p. 322).

The report of the commission was to be presented to the full session in February 1968. When the IOC full session met in Grenoble, among other matters, it passed a resolution on the issue of South Africa based on the report of its fact-finding commission. A part of the reported resolution is as follows:

Having studied the report of the commission on South Africa, the IOC notes with grave concern that racially discriminatory internal policies of the South African Government prevent the NOC of the country from achieving fully the aims of the IOC under Fundamental Principle 1 of the Olympic Code. It is, however encouraged that positive efforts by the South African NOC have resulted in a firm undertaking to implement the proposals announced at the IOC session at Tehran in May 1967 whereby a multiracial team will be selected on merit. It now resolves that the South African NOC may enter a team which conforms with Fundamental Principle 1 in the Olympic Games in 1968 in Mexico and on the understanding that it continues vigorously its efforts to have all forms of racial discrimination in amateur sport removed and the IOC will reconsider the question by the end of 1970 (Lapchick, 1975, p. 110).

The IOC decision was not favourably received by many sports conscious organizations throughout the world. The first body to react to it was the SCSA. It convened an emergency meeting in Brazzaville to discuss the issue. The meeting produced a resolution that its member nations would boycott the 1968 Mexico Olympics if South Africa was allowed to compete. Within two months of the IOC's announcement "nearly 50 countries had, officially or unofficially, expressed their opposition to South Africa's readmission. American negroes threatened to boycott the Games too" (Horrell, 1968, p. 297). Towards the end of April 1968 the IOC, at its meeting in Lausanne, reversed its decision and withdrew the invitation extended to South Africa to participate at the Mexico Olympics of 1968. In spite of the action by the IOC taken against South Africa in an attempt to persuade her to improve her race relations in sport, no significant change with respect to multi-racial sport in that country occurred. During the course of the May 1970 meetings in Amsterdam, the IOC passed a resolution to expel South Africa from the Olympic movement until major changes were made in its policies which permitted racial discrimination in sport.

The position of South Africa in its membership of a number of international sport federations has been summarized as follows:

By the end of May 1970, white South Africa's hitherto excellent sporting relations had been drastically altered by the campaign for non-racial sport. She had been expelled from the IOC and expelled or suspended from international table tennis, football, basketball, fencing, volleyball, boxing, judo, weightlifting, tennis (Davis Cup), gymnastics, big game fishing, cycling and netball. In almost every sport South Africa had faced some challenge, particularly in the two major sports, cricket and rugby. . . . The seriousness of the threat of total sport isolation had led many white sportsmen and administrators to call for various degrees of integration in sport, to avoid action against South Africa (Brickhill, 1976, p. 17).

Multi-National Sport

By the end of 1970 the pressure caused by increasing isolation of South Africa from international sport was felt by the sportsmen in particular and the government as well. In an attempt to return the country to an environment where its athletes could redeem the situation, and get participation in sports with the outside world, the government of Prime Minister Vorster launched an official policy of multi-national sport on 22 April 1971. In a broad outline,

. . . the policy of [multi-national sport] is based on the conception of South Africa as a "multi-national" . . . rather than a multi-racial country. Hence South Africa's whites and non-whites will only be able to compete against one another within the country in certain "open international" events . . . (Horrell, 1972, p. 314).

The policy has been described as "a complicated attempt to adjust the traditional practice of apartheid in sport to the requirements of international competition without making any concessions on principles" (Brickhill, 1976, p. 22). It has also been observed that

. . . some inconsistencies are immediately obvious. For the purpose of the Bantustan policy, the Africans are regarded as forming not one national unit but ten! And for political purposes of a party nature the Nationalists often refer to the 'volk' - the Afrikaner nation - as distinct from the English-descended whites (Brickhill, 1976, p. 22).

The main features of multi-national sport are as follows:

- a. Mixed or multi-racial sport on club, provincial or national level will not be allowed, nor will South Africa be represented internationally by mixed teams except in special cases;

- b. A distinction is made between international and open international events, although exactly how many countries would have to participate to make an event open international is not clear;
- c. Multi-racial teams from countries with which South Africa has traditional sporting relations can tour South Africa, but only to play against separate white and non-white teams at segregated venues. No permits will be given to whites to watch overseas teams play South African non-whites;
- d. South Africa will not send multi-racial teams overseas, except in four specified instances: the Olympic Games, the Canada Cup golf competition, the Federation Cup, and Davis Cup tennis competitions;
- e. South Africa's non-white sport bodies will be encouraged to establish their own international sports relations;
- f. The establishment of a national sports council to coordinate the activities of all sports in the country is to be considered (Horrell, 1972, pp. 314-316).

The application of the multi-national sport policy did not bring about any substantial change in the racial discriminatory practice in South African sport. However, in the case of one sport, lawn tennis,

On the basis of an assurance that the South African team would be chosen strictly on merit, the International Lawn Tennis Federation agreed that the 1972 Federation Cup Tournament be held in South Africa. Mixed trials were held in private in January 1972 to select the South African team for the Federation Cup (Brickhill, 1976, p. 24).

There is evidence to substantiate the fact that there were inconsistencies in the application of the policy. In June 1971, two white and one black South African athletes competed in West Germany;

. . . the African, Theodore Moorosi, won the 100 m event three times and the 200 m event once. But, according to government policy, he was not representing South Africa. In the same month the Department of Sport refused to allow a multi-racial college softball team from the United States to visit South Africa 'because it was not an international event' (Brickhill, 1976, p. 23).

Following the experiences of inconsistency in the application of the 1971 multi-national sport policy, the government felt the need to modify it after it had been in existence for five years.

On 23 September 1976, the Minister for Sport and Recreation, Dr. P.G.J. Koornhof, announced another new sports policy. An extract

from the statement by the Minister on that occasion is as follows:

The Federal Information Council of the National Party accepts that, taking into account the applicable legislation and regulations, the interests of South Africa and all its peoples in respect of sport can best be served in terms of the following policy:

1. White, Coloured, Indian and Black sportsmen and women should all belong to their own clubs. Each should control, arrange, and manage its own sporting fixtures.
2. Whenever possible, practical, and desirable the committees or councils of the different race groups should consult together or have such contact as would advance the interests of the sport concerned.
3. Inter-group competition in respect of individual types of sport (will) be allowed at all levels, should the controlling bodies so decide.
4. In respect of team sports, the councils or committees of each racial group should arrange their own leagues or programmes within the racial group.
5. Where mutually agreed councils or committees may, in consultation with the Minister, arrange leagues or matches enabling teams from different racial groups to compete.
6. Each racial group should arrange its own sporting relationships with other countries or sporting bodies in accordance with its own wishes, and each should award its own badges and colours.
7. If and when invited or agreed, teams comprising players from all racial groups can represent South Africa, and can be awarded colours which, if so desired, can incorporate the national flag or its colours.
8. "Attendance at sporting fixtures (will) be arranged by the controlling bodies" (Horrell, 1977, p. 394).

It is not likely that the 1976 new sport policy produced the changes desired by the advocates for non-racial sport policy in South Africa.

On the basis of available evidence, the report on the 1976 sports policy presented by the Minister after one year of its implementation reflected the following:

. . . in the year following the 1976 "new policy", there had been only 56 cases of individuals who competed on mixed teams in more than 1,800 events with more than 500,000 participants. That is, the Government had been more than "99.9955% successful" in applying the

apartheid policy in sport. . . . In 1977, the 4.4 million whites received 180 times more per capita expenditures than the 18.6 million blacks (Lapchick, 1979, p. 159).

While the multi-national policy of 1971, and the 1976 new sport policy designed by the government failed to effect any significant change in the racial sport policy of South Africa, the non-racial organizations intensified their efforts to promote multi-racial sport.

In September 1970, representatives of some national sports organizations at a meeting in Durban established a body known as the South African Council on Sport (SACOS). At that meeting they passed a number of resolutions among which are the following:

- a. To strive for a complete, non-racial sports structure (from school level upwards);
- b. To express strong opposition to and expose discrimination in sports and sports sponsorship;
- c. To seek facilities that are deserving of all irrespective of colour; and
- d. To form a national, non-racial sports organization (Ramsammy, 1980, pp. 29-30).

SACOS is a body recognized by both the UN and the SCSA. It is represented by SANROC at the international level. A clarification of the relationship among these bodies is given as follows,

SACOS is the parent body to SANROC. SACOS is based in South Africa, they are doing most excellent work. . . . We [SCSA] were instructed by the UN and the OAU to give recognition to this body that is being persecuted by the White racist South Africa (Chief A. Ordia, President SCSA in an interview with this writer in Lagos, 22 July 1982).

An official record with respect to the recognition of SACOS by the SCSA is contained in the extract which follows:

The Council [SCSA] at its Extra-ordinary Session of the Executive Committee held in Yaounde during January of this year [1977] unanimously accepts SACOS as a member. In a directive to SACOS, Council said: "African sportsmen and sports administrators have made great sacrifices for the cause of the oppressed sportsmen of South Africa. In return they do not expect black South Africans to accept any form of "normalisation" of sport within the "multi-national" context. The only form of normalisation that is acceptable to Africa is non-racial sport at ALL LEVELS free of all the administrative trappings of Apartheid (SACOS, 2nd Biennial Conference, 1977, p. 95).

It is not unlikely that this recognition by SCSA will encourage SACOS and its allies to re-dedicate themselves to the cause of non-racialism in sport.

According to the records of SANROC,

SACOS has over 20 genuine non-racial sports disciplines affiliated to it and they have resolved unanimously: "SACOS in a declaration of its solidarity with the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa hereby rejects all forms of racialism in sport and accepts a complete moratorium on all sports tours to and from South Africa until all the trappings of apartheid have been removed from South African sport (Ramsammy, 1980, p. 31).

It is relevant at this point to explain what "trappings of apartheid" mean. The extract which follows provides the clarification:

During the late 1950s white sports administrators began creating disunity among the black groups by requesting municipal authorities to close sports grounds to non-racial bodies as they (blacks) were violating the Government's Group Area Act. As one ground after another was being closed to non-racial sports organizations the white Football Association of South Africa created a black football splinter body in Johannesburg and named it South African Bantu Football Association. B.P. Morola, President of this splinter body was taken to the 1962 FIFA Congress in Chile and he became the first black stooge to plead the case of a white sports organization at an international conference. . . black sports administrators who make statements expressing support for apartheid sport or arguing against an international boycott almost invariably belong to the ambitious, self-seeking, business or merchant class or are in compromised positions. Most of them are employed by the State or by white-owned businesses which propagate apartheid. It is not surprising that these black officials can be persuaded to support white sports bodies, given their career orientation. . . . In this regard white South Africa's latest [by 1980] plan is to form "umbrella bodies" with all the trappings of apartheid, but elect a black person as president, vice-president or secretary although de facto control is in the hands of whites. This system, they hope, will provide credibility because these so-called "umbrella" racial organizations are being defended by black puppets (Ramsammy, 1980, pp. 33 - 34).

However, in 1978 a report by SACOS reflected that "there have been minor changes and concessions, but racial discrimination characterize the entire SA scene" (Minutes of 2nd Biennial Conference, SACOS, 1978, p. 114). The racial discrimination which affects sport in South Africa has been pointed out by both the President and Secretary of SACOS as follows:

White South Africa in order to maintain its ideology . . . has spent and continues to spend vast sums of monies to present the "Multi-racial" image. . . . There is no law which prohibits the playing of mixed sport. But the Group Areas Act, No. 36 of 1966 and Proclamation R 26 of 1965 and R 228 of 1973, the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act No. 49 of 1953, the Bantu Laws Amendment Act No. 76 of 1963 and the Native Laws Amendments Act No. 36 of 1957 prohibit mixing of various races. Hence it is not possible to play organised sport at all levels and at any or all venues (Minutes, 3rd Biennial Conference, SACOS, 1979, pp. 31, 33).

It is evident that the laws which indirectly inhibit multi-racial sports have been of concern to white sport administrators, especially from among those in the country's National Games and Olympic Association. It was reported that in August 1979, Mr. Rudolph Opperman, President, South African Olympic and National Games Association (SAONGA) said that:

. . . the process of modernisation had been taken as far as it could by sportsmen and that the Government should establish a commission of inquiry to review existing iniquities, the lack of proper facilities, legal obstacles relating to the permit and liquor control systems, discrepancies in funding and other discriminatory aspects which fall outside and powers of sportsmen (Horrell, 1979, p. 584).

Following this call on the Government, the Minister convened "a conference of the executive members of all sporting bodies (except SACOS which was not invited) to consider the position of sport in South Africa. The conference took place at the end of October [1979]" (Horrell, 1979, p. 584). It would appear that the exclusion of SACOS from such an important meeting on the future of South Africa's sport contradicts the intention of the Minister's 'conference of . . . all sporting bodies' of the Minister. During the meeting the Minister announced that an investigation into South Africa's sport will be carried out by that country's Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC). The first report of the investigation was released in September 1980. According to the records of SANOC the outcome of the report has brought about among other things the following:

Sixteen sub-committees are presently engaged in studying different problem areas including, . . . restricting legislation affecting

the normalisation of sport to financing, facilities, the place and importance of sport in society, socio-political aspects. . . . During the past year sport was unequivocally declared to be autonomous by the authorities and the Minister re-iterated that sporting bodies, would themselves, decide all matters relating to membership, participation, selection, administration, the use of facilities In May 1981 the Minister of National Education announced that the Government had granted approval for the amendment of certain existing legislation in order to positively influence the normalisation of sports relations. The decision of the Government was based on the recommendations contained in a report by the Legal Committee of the Human Sciences Research Council. The Government approved the amendment of the relevant sections of the following acts in order to abolish their applicability to sports situations: the Liquor Act (No. 87 of 1977), the Group Areas Act (No. 36 of 1966) and the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act (No. 25 of 1945). As far as the Act on the Allocation of Separate Facilities is concerned, the Government found itself in agreement with the view of the Committee that an in-depth investigation was desirable also to include aspects other than sport (SANOC. Towards the elimination of discrimination in sport, 1981).

It is yet to be seen what the amendment to the legislations will bring to South Africa's sport in practice. It may represent a beginning of a new era of improved race relations in that country.

On the basis of the evidence highlighted in this chapter, it is reasonable to state that there have been some changes in the race relations in South Africa's sport by the early 1980s as compared with the situation in 1960. These consist,

. . . mainly of special dispensations to allow the inclusion of a few blacks in some "national" teams, the attendance of multi-racial audiences at some sports fixtures and the entry of black sportsmen into some clubs during certain special sports events. . . . The special dispensations are ended immediately after the particular sports events . . . (SCSA, Sport and Racial Discrimination, 1982, pp. 11-12).

As a consequence of these changes SANOC submitted an application for re-admission into the Olympic movement. The application which was addressed to President Juan Samaranch, IOC, was dated 23 May 1981. The details of the application is published in its "South Africa and World Sport" series No. 10 titled "Application for re-recognition by the IOC".⁶

The foregoing is a reflection on the state of sport in South Africa by the early 1980s in relation to the apartheid system of that country. It has been indicated the IOC, during the 84th (23 September 1981) session of its congress in Baden-Baden decided that it would send "an enquiry mission to take stock of the progress made in South Africa in relation to apartheid" (SCSA, Sport and Racial Discrimination, 1981, p. 13). No member of the proposed mission has yet been named, neither has any date for the visit been decided upon at the time of writing. If and when an IOC mission is sent to South Africa, the world of sport will again anxiously await the outcome of its finding when it is finally completed. If apartheid is eliminated from sport in South Africa, it may lead the way to happier events in that society, and the world of sport will be the richer as a consequence.

Summary

The original inhabitants of South Africa were the native brown skinned Africans who were, in the main hunters and cattlemen. When the crews of the Portuguese (the first whitemen to land on the coast under Bartholomew Diaz) rounded the Cape in 1488, they encountered the indigenous tribesmen. They were referred to by members of the white population who began to settle in the area around 1652 as the Bushmen and Hottentots.

The first white settlement was developed in 1652 by a crew of the Dutch East India Company. They established their own herds and encouraged the 'free burghers' to farm the land; this brought about the first small scale war in 1658 between the whites and the Hottentots who resented the encroachment of the farmers on their grazing land. After 1662, slaves were imported from Mozambique, Madagasca, and from East India for labour. Initially "marriages between whites and slaves as well as between whites

and Hottentots were socially approved and sanctioned" (Louw, 1977, p. 93). This initial relationship contributed largely to the development of a coloured population in South Africa. Between 1688 and 1770 some French Huguenots emigrated to South Africa and intermarried with the Dutch burghers thereby helping to stabilize the 'free' white population.

Britain first occupied the Cape in 1795 by arrangement with the Dutch king, and later ruled it with a policy of emancipation for the slaves until the Act of Union in 1910. By 1833, when Great Britain abolished slavery throughout the Empire and its acquired offspring, about 39,000 slaves gained their freedom from their Boer masters. The loss of control over the slaves was largely responsible for the Great Trek by the Boers from 1836 to 1843. The Boers held the view that the native nonwhite "had been meant to be servant of white man" (Sacks, 1967, p. 7). Following the Trek, South Africa was divided into four territories, namely: the Cape and Natal under the British; and the Transvaal and the Orange Free State under the Dutch, until 1910 when they were united into one country as the Union of South Africa and a member of the British Commonwealth.

Some of the events which have had implications for apartheid sport during the Union Government's administration in the chronological order, include the following:

- i) the establishment, in 1913, of the Natives Land Act No. 27 which reserved about 88% of the land mass of South Africa for the whites (who are about 25% of the country's population), and about 12% of the land for the nonwhites (approximately 70% of the total population);
- ii) the establishment of 1945 Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidated Act;

- iii) the 1948 election which was won on a platform which included the establishment of an apartheid policy;
- iv) the Group Areas Act of 1950;
- v) the Population Registration Act, No. 30 of 1950;
- vi) the UN Commission on Racial Situation in South Africa, 1950;
- vii) the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, No. 49 of 1953;
- viii) Native Laws Amendment Act, No. 36 of 1957;
- ix) Sharpeville police killings, March 1960;
- x) Independent African States' Resolution on South Africa's apartheid policy, June 1960;
- xi) White South Africans' Referendum for Republican Status, October, 1960.

There has not been direct legislation preventing inter-racial sport, but government policy does not favour mixed sport and some of the laws listed above create obstacles for non-racial sport. The laws also provide the basis for persecution of those who advocate the development of non-racial sport within South Africa.

Several important international organizations have dealt with issues relating to the racial discrimination policy in South Africa's sport. These include the IOC, the International Table Tennis Federation, the Federation of International Football Association and the British Commonwealth Games Federation.

Taken as a whole, the political environment within South Africa immediately preceding the period 1960 to 1982 was one wherein full human rights was disregarded and where full participation in the society by nonwhites was an impossibility. Concern over this situation had produced overt reaction by groups outside of South Africa. More would occur. Among the leaders of the nations who would develop counter measures was

Nigeria.

Between 1961 and 1982 there were pressures against South Africa's racial discrimination in sports by organizations from inside and outside the country. Some of these bodies include SASA, SANROC and SACOS from within. The outside bodies include all the international organizations listed earlier during the period up to 1960. In addition to the list are the UN, OAU, SCSA and the International Federations of Athletics, basketball, boxing, cricket, fencing, judo, gymnastics, and weightlifting among others. The actions by these bodies were largely directed toward the isolation of South Africa from international sports as a mechanism of creating sufficient internal pressure on the government of South Africa such that it would alter its apartheid sport policy.

In an attempt to get the country back to international sport competitions a number of measures were taken by the government. The measures include the following:

- i) the introduction of the Multi-national Sport Policy in 1971;
- ii) the announcement of a "new sports policy" in 1976; and
- iii) the relaxing of some of the laws which had indirectly negated multi-racial sport.

By the early 1980s some changes in the apartheid sport policy were evident. The changes consisted mainly of some dispensations which allow the inclusion of a few blacks in some sports meetings and the attendance of multi-racial audiences at some sports meetings and the entry of black sportsmen into some clubs. In May 1981, SANOC submitted its application for re-recognition by the IOC. The action of the IOC on the re-application is being awaited by the world of sport.

Footnotes to Chapter III

¹See Figure 1 for South Africa consolidated homelands with borders as approved by parliament in 1975.

²See Appendix 3 for the Charter of the United Nations.

³See Appendix 4 for the Charter of the Organization of African Unity.

⁴See Appendix 6 for Persecution of Advocates of Non-racial Sport.

⁵See Appendix 7 for the Goals of the Supreme Council for Sports in Africa.

⁶See Appendix 8 for Application for Re-recognition by the IOC.

CHAPTER IV

A BACKGROUND TO NIGERIA'S FOREIGN POLICY WITH REFERENCE TO SOUTH AFRICA'S APARTHEID SPORT POLICY

The Federal Republic of Nigeria¹ is Africa's most populous country with more than 80 million people resident in 1982. This represents about one-quarter of the population of the continent south of the Sahara. The population is multi-ethnic; among the principal ethnic groups are the Hausa, Fulani, Yoruba, Ibo, Edo, Efik, Tiv, Ijaw, Kanuri, and Ebira. Politically Nigeria became an independent nation on 1 October 1960 and she was admitted as the 99th member of the United Nations on 7 October 1960. She has remained a member of the Commonwealth despite the fact that she became a Republic on 1 October 1963. Apart from the military era which extended from January 1966 to September 1979, Nigeria has remained a democracy retaining a parliamentary system of government up to 1966, and implementing a Presidential democracy from October 1979.

The main issues that have played a part in Nigeria's foreign policy relating to South Africa's apartheid policy generally will be examined with reference to sport. They will be presented in order to facilitate a clear understanding of the public posture of Nigeria on the components of apartheid system which have the potentials of negating non-racial sport in South Africa. The analytic approach will be employed in this examination based on:

. . . the assumption that a State's geographical position and size, its history, its role in international decision-making, and its 'elements of national power' all combine over a period of time to provide a consistent and meaningful policy, regardless of changes in national decision-making (Phillips, 1964, p. 6).

The period under review covers twenty-two years, extending from 1960,

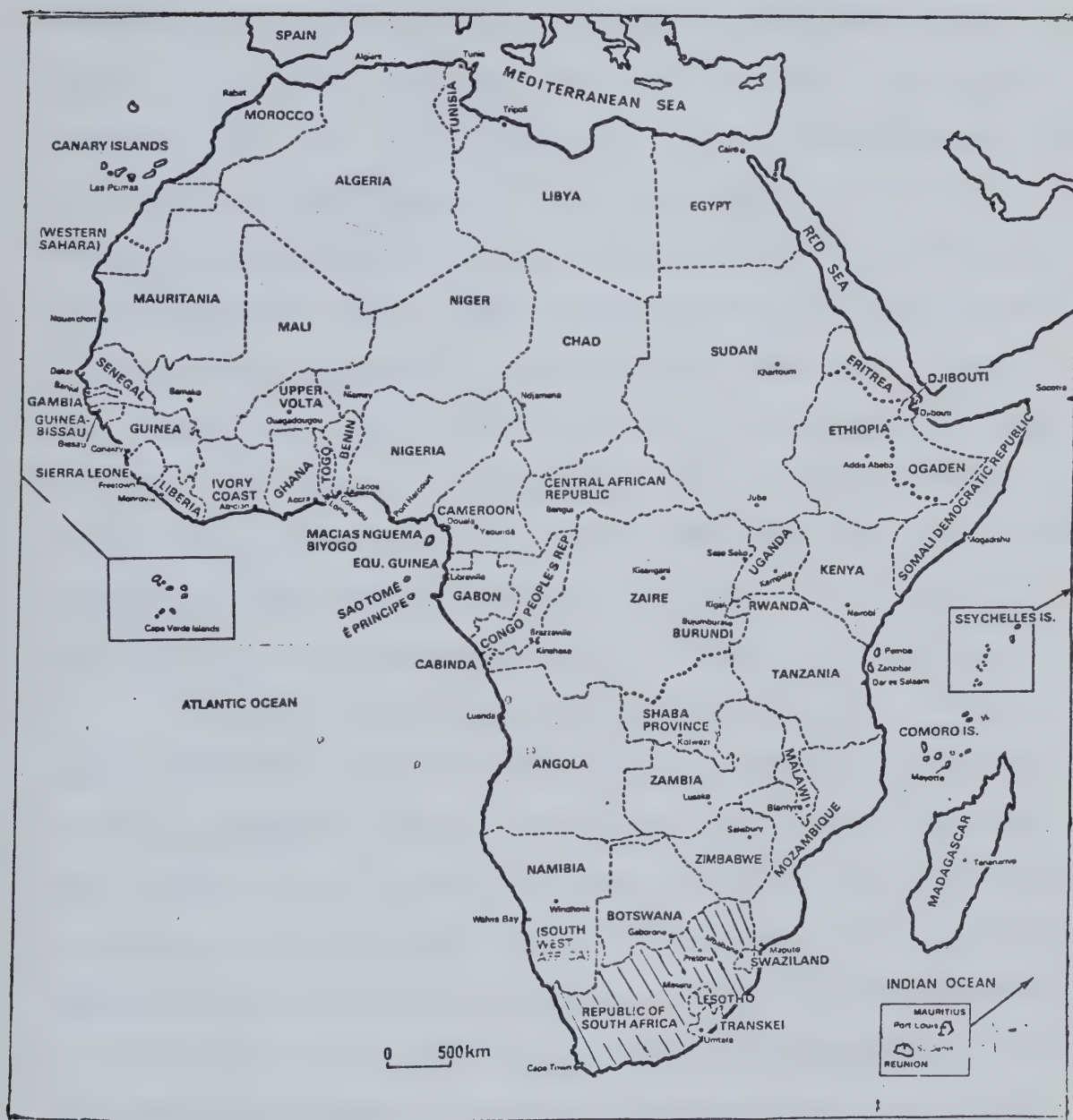


Figure 2. Political map of Africa

Legum, Colin (ed.). Africa Contemporary Record Annual Survey, 1979/80. London: Africana Publishing Company, 1980 (inner cover). [S.A. shaded by the researcher].

Nigeria's year of independence, to 1982. Six different heads of government ruled Nigeria during this period. They include Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa who was in office before 1960 and who continued as Prime Minister up to 15 January 1966; Sir Abubakar was followed by Major-General J.T.U. Aguiyi-Ironsi who ruled for a few months from January 1966 to 29 July 1966. He was succeeded by General Yakubu Gowon who was in office for almost nine years from 1 August 1966 to 29 July 1975. General Murtala Muhammed succeeded him and governed Nigeria from July 1975 to 13 February 1976. After the assassination of General Muhammed in what has been regarded as "the abortive coup [led by] Lt. Colonel S.B. Dimka" (Aluko, 1981, p. 58), Lt. General Olusegun Obasanjo became the head of government from February 1976 until 1 October 1979 when he handed over power to the elected civilian President Alhaji Shehu Shagari who was in office during the years of this study. All were involved with the establishment and implementation of Nigeria's foreign policy.

The definition of foreign policy adopted here is ". . . the general principles by which a State governs its reaction to the international environment" (Lerche Jr. and Said, 1979, p. 32). An attempt will be made to identify sampled evidence of the reactions to the South African apartheid system during the administrations of the six heads of government named in the above paragraph. From the Nigerian experience some decisions on foreign policy on a number of issues have taken into consideration the views of the Nigerian press and public opinion, the input by various political parties through debates in the legislatures, and the outcome of seminars and workshops by scholars from relevant disciplines. Some of these considerations have influenced a great deal of Nigeria's actions relating to the racial policy of the white minority government of South Africa. A brief review of the foreign policy

behaviours during the administrations of the six rulers of Nigeria will be presented in chronological order.

The Era of Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, 1960 to January 1966

The foundation of Nigeria's foreign policy was laid during this administration. The indications of government policy with respect to South Africa's apartheid system had been revealed during those months of 1960 which preceded Nigeria's official independence. Following the March 1960 Sharpeville police killings of 72 unarmed black non-violent demonstrators in South Africa, a number of decisions were taken by Nigerians as a reaction to the killings.

On 5 April 1960 a motion by Mr. Lamuye, a member of the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) party in the House of Representatives, urged government to take appropriate steps to ban the importation of South African goods into the country. This motion was passed unanimously. The Minister of Commerce, Alhaji Zanna Bukar Dipcharima, announced that white South Africans would not be employed by the government. When the Prime Minister presented to the House of Representatives on 20 August 1960, the statement on foreign policy he stressed the value of the decision that Nigeria continue as a member of the Commonwealth after independence, as well as the decision to join the United Nations. He added that his government was opposed to all forms of aggression and that it would always strive "to obtain the observance everywhere of those human rights which all parties in Nigeria have agreed upon as fundamental, in particular freedom from racial or religious discrimination" (Balewa and Epelle, 1964, p. 58).

Sir Abubakar kept his words in this regard. His challenge of South Africa's race policy and his confrontation with that country's

Prime Minister Dr. Verwoerd during his last attendance of a Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference exemplified this deep concern with respect to this matter. His position is made clear by the following extract:

In fact, many people credit South Africa's withdrawal from the Commonwealth almost exclusively to Sir Abubakar's opposition. . . . Dr. Verwoerd spoke of the 'unbridled attacks' [of his policy] made by the Prime Ministers of India, Nigeria and Ghana [at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference]. . . . Sir Abubakar himself left the impression that he may have played the leading role. At a press conference, he said, '. . . I gave it hot to South Africa, and they gave it back to me during the sharp exchanges across the conference table. But I am particularly pleased about the outcome of the conference' (Phillips, 1964, pp. 119-120).

Other examples of reactions with respect to the South African racial policy during Sir Abubakar's administration included a strong reaction against organizations outside South Africa which supported the apartheid principle.

Another move against the Republic of South Africa occurred in November 1961, when the Federal Minister of Internal Affairs, Alhaji Usman Sarki (NPC), decided to expel the South African Dutch Reformed Church from the Federation. Apparently, this church had only twelve members in Nigeria, operating exclusively in the Northern Region, but the church's identification with apartheid was enough to justify the extreme action taken by the Minister (West African Pilot Lagos, 27 November 1961, p. 11).

It is important to clarify at this juncture that the Constitutions of Nigeria always provided for freedom of religion which protect all churches and other religious organizations which do not infringe the laws of the country. The expulsion of the South African Dutch Reformed Church for reasons of its identification with apartheid has been the only occasion when a church organization was known to be expelled from the country. During the same month of the expulsion of the South African Dutch Reformed Church, the Attorney-General and Minister of Justice, Dr. T.O. Elias, introduced a bill to parliament which brought to an end the privileges enjoyed in Nigeria by white South Africans as members of the Commonwealth; they were thereafter treated as foreigners. Each of

the evidences cited in this passage was on the basis of one of the principles underlying Nigerian foreign policy which sought to eradicate colonialism, racism, and apartheid from Africa.

The Era of Major-General J.T.U. Aguiyi-Ironsi, January 1966 to 29 July 1966

On 15 January 1966 Nigeria witnessed its first coup d'etat in which the Prime Minister and head of the Federal Government, two of the four regional Premiers, and three senior military officers were killed. Following the coup an emergency meeting of the senate decided to hand over powers to Major-General J.T.U. Aguiyi-Ironsi as the first military ruler of the country with effect from 16 January 1966. He was in office for about six months when his government was overthrown on 29 July 1966 the day he was killed in a second coup. General Ironsi's administration was faced with a great deal of internal unrests within the country as well as within its army. As a consequence of this internal turmoil there was no evidence of government action, during this short lived administration, directed against South Africa's racial issues.

The Era of General Yakubu Gowon, 1 August 1966 to 29 July 1975

General Gowon's administration maintained the foreign policy directions established during the first civilian government of Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa. However, the maintenance of the posture was made possible by the success achieved at resolving a number of domestic issues, two of which possess some elements which brought Nigeria and the South African government into conflict. The first issue was the attempt to secede a part of the former eastern region known as "Biafra" from Nigeria between 1967 and 1969. The cause of the attempted secession was largely due to the fear of domination by the northern region resulting

from the imbalance of the sizes of the regions.² The second issue was the successful creation within Nigeria of twelve states³ which became effective from April 1967. The new states' structure corrected the imbalance in the sizes of the former regions and thereby eliminated the cause of fear of domination by any single part of the country which had existed before the time.

During the Nigerian civil war, the government of South Africa was known to have offered moral and material assistance to "Biafra". The rationale behind the offer made by South Africa, and the reason for its acceptance by the secessionist "Biafra" are made clear in the extract below:

Biafra also had 'friends' in southern Africa. . . . Portuguese, South African and Rhodesian support. . . . By helping to sustain a civil war in Africa's most populous and potentially strongest country, these three white-supremacist governments undermined African unity, weakened the African liberation movements' drive against themselves (Nigeria had been one of the largest contributors to the O.A.U.'s 'freedom fighter' funds) and nourished their own propaganda message depicting black Africa's inherent and incurable instability. . . . Ojukwu [Biafra's leader] initially refused an offer of South African help but as the military situation deteriorated he accepted it on the basis that Biafra could justifiably turn to 'the devil himself' if doing so contributed to survival (de St. Jorre, 1972, pp. 218-219).

This act was regarded as a threat to the security of the sovereignty and integrity of the country. Considering the level of dissensions between the governments of Nigeria and South Africa as reflected during the 1960 to 1966 era additional probable reasons for the actions of the Pretoria regime to destabilize Nigeria become apparent. Under the situations of the civil war, General Gowon, at the summit conference of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in September 1969 said, "We have no choice but to commit ourselves wholly to the struggle against racial oppression. . . . We know from experience that in opposing . . . racialism in . . . South Africa, we are serving the cause of our own

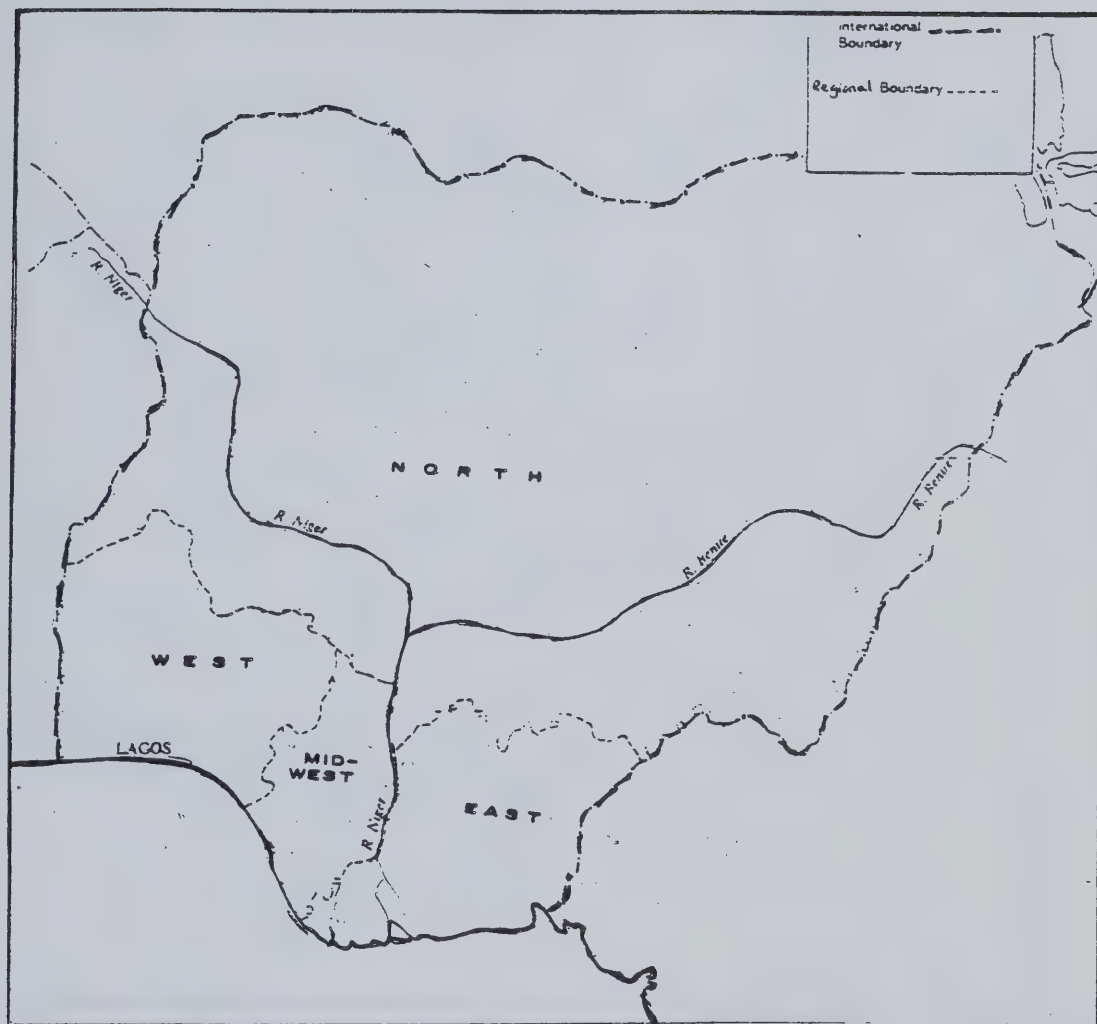


Figure 3. Nigeria's 4 regions before 1967.



Figure 4. Nigeria's 12 states from April, 1967.

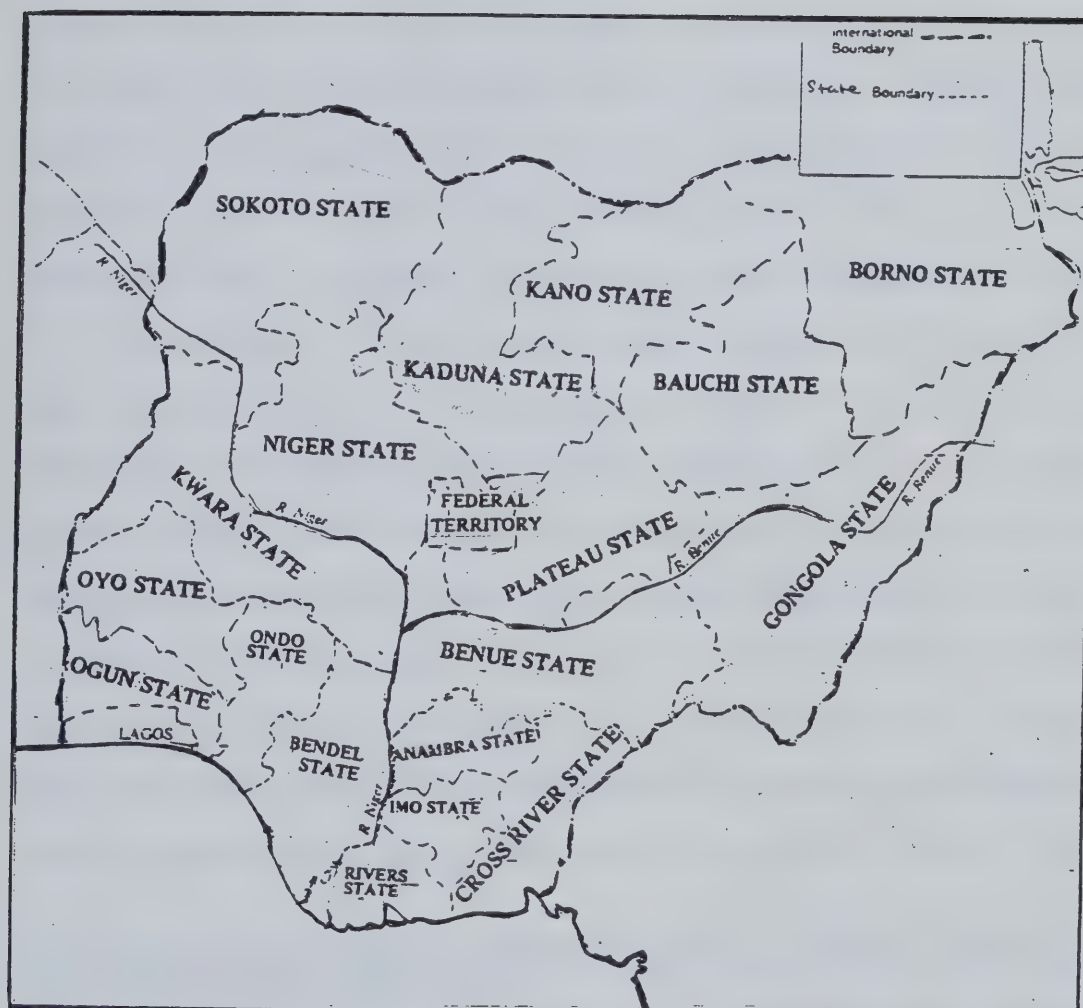


Figure 5. Nigeria's 19 states after April, 1976.

freedom and independence" (Aluko, 1981, pp. 35 and 46). Another evidence of reaction during this era was the threat by the Nigerian government to take action against countries which had economic, financial and business interests in Nigeria if they continued to supply arms to South Africa on a large scale. By the end of this era it became clear that the government of Nigeria would oppose the South African government directly or indirectly by taking actions against countries which collaborated with the Pretoria regime in violating the UN resolutions against the policies of the apartheid. These included, for example, the resolution which "requests all States . . . to suspend . . . sporting and other exchanges with the racist regime and with organisations or institutions in South Africa which practise apartheid" (UN Resolution 2671F [xxv], 8 December 1970). The stance of Nigeria against racism and the apartheid policies of South Africa generally became so strong and consistent that at the United Nations in 1970 Nigeria was appointed the chairman of both the UN Committees on Peace-keeping Operations, and Apartheid and Racial Discrimination. Nigeria has, since 1970, retained the chairmanship of the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid and Racial Discrimination until the time of this study.

The Era of General Murtala Muhammed/Lt. General Olusegun Obasanjo, July 1975 to 30 September 1979⁴

The new leaders announced a programme to return Nigeria to a civilian rule in 1979. On 13 February 1976 General Muhammed was killed in a coup, led by Lt. Col. S.B. Dimka, that failed. Lt. General Obasanjo thereby stepped in as the head of state and returned the country to civilian administration on 1 October 1979 according to the dictum laid down by General Muhammed. For the purpose of identification in this study this era may be referred to as the military era of post-1975.

The rulers of the military era of post-1975 were known to have

maintained the elements of the Nigerian foreign policy issues, but they reordered the priorities such that an increased emphasis was placed on the war against racism and apartheid. The changes with respect to policy during the military era of post-1975 are highlighted in the following quotation:

. . . the Muhammed/Obasanjo government has tried to introduce changes in emphasis and in priorities. For example,. . . . The government has, . . . been concentrating a high proportion of its time, energy and resources on the struggle against colonialism, racism and apartheid in Southern Africa (Aluko, 1981, p. 236).

A number of reasons have been suggested as responsible for this change. First, the differences in the personalities of the leaders. General Gowon was of a humble background. He was known to be cool-headed, gentle and unassuming, while General Muhammed was of an aristocratic muslim background, and was known to be tough, very aggressive and intolerant. Second, both General Muhammed and Lt. General Obasanjo "belonged to the Nigerian Society of International Affairs (NSIA) and had participated actively in the affairs of the Society" (Akinyemi, 1978, p. viii). It was most probable that they had thereby gained ideas which motivated them to re-order national priorities. Third, there was a significant change in the procedure of foreign policy formulation. During the pre-1975 era decisions of this type were taken in the Federal Executive Council (FEC) which included civilians. Such decisions were passed as information to the Supreme Military Council (SMC) which was composed entirely of military personnel. In the post-1975 era the order was reversed so that the SMC made decisions on foreign policy matters and informed the FEC. It is of significance to note that the 1976 Montreal Olympics, and the Edmonton Commonwealth Games of 1978 took place during the era under review. Nigeria was one of the first three African countries which threatened to boycott the 1976 Montreal Olympics if New

Zealand was not suspended from the Games because of her sporting links with apartheid South Africa. Subsequently Nigeria was among the thirty national teams which boycotted the Games.

In 1978 Nigeria was the only African Commonwealth State which withdrew from the Edmonton Commonwealth Games after being registered for the Games. The rationale for this boycott was the same as that which applied to the 1976 Olympic Games boycott. This action appears to confirm that during the military era of post-1975

. . . the tradition of waiting for a consensus to form within the OAU before a public declaration of Nigerian policy in line with that consensus, was replaced by an early public declaration of Nigerian policy followed by intensive diplomatic efforts to get OAU to ratify that policy (Akinyemi, 1978, p. ix).

The evidence of incidents highlighted during the post-1975 era confirms the hardline posture against racism and apartheid by Nigeria which has been maintained since 1960. Another important event which marked the last years of this era was the completion and enactment of a new constitution for Nigeria on 21 September 1978. It came into force on 1 October 1979. This is generally referred to as "Made in Nigeria" Constitution. The appellation is to emphasize the fact that the document was entirely produced by Nigerians in Nigeria for Nigerians. This distinguishes it from earlier constitutions which were either wholly or partly written in Great Britain. An aspect of the new constitution which is of particular significance to this study states as follows:

The State [Nigeria] shall promote African unity, as well as total political, economic, social and cultural liberation of Africa and all other forms of international cooperation conducive to the consolidation of universal peace and mutual respect and friendship among all peoples and States and shall combat racial discrimination in all its manifestations (The Nigeria Constitution, 1979, Chapter II, section 19).

This chapter in the constitution is significant because some materials contained in it marks the first foreign policy statements on racial

discrimination in the Nigerian Constitution. On the domestic scene the constitution provides for a presidential system of government which became effective on 1 October 1979.

The Era of Alhaji Shehu Shagari, 1 October 1979 to 1982 (and beyond)

Alhaji Shehu Shagari was sworn in as the first Executive President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria on 1 October 1979. He was a cabinet minister during the first civilian government of 1960, and a Federal Commissioner of Finance during the General Gowon administration in 1972. Alhaji Shagari has been one of the foundation members of the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA). As a consequence of this experiential background he has been intimately acquainted with the foreign policy of the previous administrations. In his broadcast during the evening of his inauguration as President, he re-affirmed, among other things, the faith of his government and its support for the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the Charter of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). He added,

. . . as your President, I will continue to advance and defend the cause of our great country before the world community of nations. It is our national will that Africa shall remain the cornerstone of our foreign policy. Also it is our national will that Africa shall be free, free of racial bigotry, free of oppression, and free from the vestiges of colonialism (Tijjani and Williams [Eds.], 1981, p. 13).

President Shagari has demonstrated his personal interest and that of his government in the development and promotion of sport in Nigeria; he has also expressed his belief in and support for the participation of Nigerian athletes at international competitions. In his 1 January 1980 New Year message to the nation he said ". . . my Administration is ready to give every encouragement to our youths and all sports-loving citizens to participate fully in sporting events and competitions and hopefully with more laurels . . ." (Tijjani and Williams [Eds.], 1981, p. 113).

His position on the South African apartheid policy in sport has been made public. In his address to the Congress of the African Football Confederation (AFC) in Lagos on 8 March 1980 he commended the courage of the AFC in its firm steps against apartheid and he added that, "Nigeria endorses your stand. For our part, apartheid is an obnoxious evil which must be fought and eliminated." Similarly on the same day during the opening ceremony of the 12th African Cup of Nations' soccer competition in Lagos, he praised the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa (SCSA) for its anti-apartheid campaign. If one considers the timing and contents of President Shagari's statements on South Africa's apartheid policy generally including sport it would appear that his government has taken a hard line posture against apartheid and that it would take such steps as deemed appropriate to change it.

It is relevant at this point to emphasize that most of the available evidence in Nigeria's news media on the country's actions in opposition to apartheid policy of South Africa are in the areas of economic sanctions against South Africa, and in the areas of support for the freedom fighters in southern Africa generally. A few examples are cited below.

The sanctions proposed by Nigeria include: immediate economic boycott of South Africa as an act of solidarity with SWAPO. . . . Refusal by including maritime and airlines' unions to service any vessels or handle goods destined for or in transit to and from South Africa. . . . Nigeria also called for generous donations to the Namibia Liberation Fund, which was launched at the sixth Summit in Havana, Cuba. Nigeria had contributed one million U.S. dollars to the fund . . . (Daily Times, Lagos, 28 April 1980, p. 40).

"Nigeria warns South Africa - we will fight back if Zimbabwe is invaded" (Daily Times, Lagos, 22 February 1980, p. 32). "Obasanjo [Nigeria's Head of State] reiterates Nigeria's stand on South Africa" (New Nigerian, Kaduna, 13 December 1977, p. 19).

From the evidence highlighted in this chapter under the eras of the six rulers of Nigeria between 1960 and 1982, it is clear that the country has maintained her foreign policy principles as they relate to racism and apartheid in South Africa including how they affect sport. The change noticed in Nigeria's position during the period under review has been in the re-ordering of priorities and in the development of new strategies for implementation. It would appear unlikely that the posture of Nigeria will change unless South Africa changes her apartheid policy in sport. In the next chapter a close examination of specific actions relating to sport will be made and the effects of those actions on Nigeria's sport environment will be considered.

SUMMARY

The Federal Republic of Nigeria is Africa's most populous country with more than 80 million people living there in 1982; this number represents about one-quarter of the population of the continent south of the Sahara.

Politically, Nigeria became an independent nation on 1 October 1960, and she was admitted as the 99th member of the UN on 7 October 1960. Nigeria is a member of other international organizations. Some of these are the Commonwealth, OAU, OPEC and IOC; some others include SCSA, UNESCO and a number of International Federations (IFs) of sport. Apart from the military era from January 1966 to September 1979, Nigeria is, and has been, a democratic country.

Between 1960 and 1982 a period of twenty-two years, six different heads of government ruled Nigeria; they include:

1. Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, before 1960 to 15 January 1966;
2. Major-General J.T.U. Aguiyi-Ironsi, January 1966 to 29 July 1966;

3. General Yakubu Gowon, 1 August 1966 to 29 July 1975;
4. General Murtala Muhammed, July 1975 to 13 February 1976;
5. Lt. General Olusegun Obasanjo, February 1976 to 30 September 1979; and
6. Alhaji Shehu Shagari, 1 October to beyond December 1982.

Nigeria's foreign policy objectives during this time were as follows:

The State shall promote African unity, as well as total political, economic, social and cultural liberation of Africa and all other forms of international co-operation conducive to the consolidation of universal peace and mutual respect and friendship among all peoples and States, and shall combat racial discrimination in all its manifestations (The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria [Enactment] Decree 1978, Chapter II, section 19).

These objectives form the basis for the country's stance on international issues. Following the March 1960 Sharpeville police killings in South Africa, the Nigerian Parliament (the House of Representatives) passed a number of resolutions relating to South Africa. These included the following:

1. the barring of white South Africans from employment in Nigeria;
2. the expulsion of an exclusive white South African Dutch Reformed Church from Nigeria;
3. an end of the privileges enjoyed in Nigeria by white South Africans as members of the Commonwealth; and
4. a mandate for the Prime Minister to fight for the expulsion of South Africa from the Commonwealth.

Among the evidence of Nigeria's foreign policy posture against South Africa's apartheid sport policy are the following:

1. the boycott of the 1976 Montreal Olympics and protest against New Zealand's sporting links with South Africa;
2. the withdrawal from the 1978 Commonwealth Games in Edmonton for the same reason on New Zealand;

3. President Shagari's commendation of the African Football Confederation (AFC) for its actions against apartheid. In his address to the AFC congress, among other things he said, "Nigeria endorses your stand. For our part, apartheid is an obnoxious evil which must be fought and eliminated" (President Shagari's address to the AFC congress, Lagos, 8 March 1980); and
4. most of the available evidence in Nigeria's news media on the country's action in opposition to apartheid policy of South Africa are in the areas of economic sanctions, and of support for the freedom fighters in southern Africa generally.

Footnotes to Chapter IV

¹See Figure 2 for the location of Nigeria in the political map of Africa.

²See Figure 3 for the regions of Nigeria before 1967.

³See Figure 4 for the twelve states of Nigeria from April 1967. Also Figure V for Nineteen States of Nigeria after April 1976.

⁴The governments of the two leaders are usually named together as shown on the sub-title for the following reason. When General Murtala Muhammed replaced General Yakubu Gowon as head of state after a bloodless coup d'etat on 29 July 1975, Lt. General Olusegun Obasanjo was appointed Chief of Staff (Supreme Headquarters), the next in command to the Head of State. The new leaders announced a program to return Nigeria to a civilian rule in 1979. But on 13 February 1976, General Muhammed was killed in a coup that failed. Lt. General Obasanjo thereby stepped in as the head of state and returned the country to civilian administration on 1 October 1979 as laid down by General Muhammed.

CHAPTER V

ACTIONS TAKEN BY NIGERIA WITH REFERENCE TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN APARTHEID SPORT POLICY 1960-1982

In the preceding two chapters of this study the state of sport in South Africa was examined and seen to be unfavourably under the control of government apartheid policy. A number of international organizations of which Nigeria is a member have taken actions in order to effect change in the system. The stance of Nigeria has been taken on the basis of the principles of her foreign policy to fight for the elimination of racism, discrimination and apartheid anywhere in the world.

An attempt will be made to identify Nigeria's actions relating to apartheid sport in South Africa under two considerations. First, an examination of Nigeria's role in the actions taken by some international organizations on the issue. Second, some actions taken by Nigeria on the matter relating to her independent role.

A SUMMARY OF THE DEVELOPMENT AND ORGANIZATION OF SPORT IN NIGERIA

Participation in organized modern sports in Nigeria dates back to the colonial era and before the country's independence in 1960. Such participation was first limited essentially to educational institutions and concentrated on athletics (track and field), and football (soccer). Organized coaching of athletes in the early days was limited to the celebration of "Empire Day" on the 24 May of each year. Facilities and personal equipment were limited, and participation in sports was also limited to the talented individuals.

Nigerian athletes did participate in international sports such as the Commonwealth Games and the Olympic Games before 1960, her year of

independence. After independence the Nigerian federal government established the National Sports Council (now the National Sports Commission NSC) in 1962. The NSC was constituted as an autonomous body to coordinate and promote the development of sport in Nigeria. According to the Act of Parliament (later Decree No. 34 of 1971 amended in 1979), the NSC is empowered to establish national sport associations for sports such as athletics, badminton, basketball, cricket, football, and swimming to name only a few. Each national sport association is charged with the development of its own sport throughout the country.

There is also the Nigeria Olympic Committee (NOC) which supervises and coordinates the development of amateur sports through the national sports associations for international events such as the Olympic Games, the Commonwealth Games, and the All-Africa Games. The NOC is an independent body in accordance with the principles of the International Olympic Committee (IOC). The NOC is funded partly through voluntary donations and partly through government subvention.

The NSC is fully supported by government funds and all its staff are paid employees. The chief executive of the NSC is the Director of Sports. The national associations are directly funded by the NSC. Each state in Nigeria has a state sports council, with a state Director of Sports as chief executive. Each state has its state sport association, which is represented as a full member of the national sport association.

In recent years state sports festivals and national sports festivals have been organized in all amateur sports biennially. Each state and national sport association also organize their programmes of development and promotion; for example, each sport association plans its training, coaching and competition programmes over periods such as two years, preparatory to important international competitions. The decision

over the selection of athletes to represent Nigeria at international competition is that of respective national sport associations, subject to the approval of the NSC, which allocates funds to the associations. The role of the NOC in such selection is to ensure the compliance with the amateur rules and other IOC regulations as they may be applicable.

With respect to the relationships described above, when and if the federal government decides to use sport as a tool in its fight against South Africa's apartheid policy, it may give directives for boycott actions. Since the government provides most of the funding which enables the NSC to sponsor the athletes through their respective national associations, government directives for the boycott of the 1976 Montreal Olympics and the 1978 Edmonton Commonwealth Games were implemented swiftly. It is necessary to explain that in those cases the apartheid sport policy in South Africa was abhorred generally by Nigerians. The reactions of the athletes and other individuals in Nigeria to these government directives for boycott of international sport will be identified and analyzed in the appropriate section in this study.

NIGERIA'S ROLE IN THE ACTIONS TAKEN BY SOME INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS ON SOUTH AFRICA'S APARTHEID SPORT

The 1960's was an era when some important decisions relating to the South African racial sport policy were taken by a number of international organizations in which Nigeria was an active member. Some of these international organizations include the United Nations (UN), the International Olympic Committee (IOC), the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Supreme Council for Sports in Africa (SCSA). Others include the Commonwealth, the Commonwealth Games Federation (CGF) and some International Federations (IFs). Some of Nigeria's actions are manifested through these international bodies. In general it is true that an individual member country of any organization may not claim

credit for the combined actions of that group. However, when one considers Nigeria's role and her position, as well as those of some of her nationals within these institutions, it becomes apparent that some of the actions are very significant.

THE IOC AND THE SCSA

A Nigerian, Sir Adetokunbo Ademola was the first black African member of the IOC. He was one of the three-member commission of that body which visited South Africa in 1967 to investigate the race relation in that country. Another Nigerian, Chief Abraham Ordia, the Secretary General of the National Olympic Committee (NOC) of Nigeria has been the President of the SCSA for more than fifteen years. Several of the actions taken by both the IOC and the SCSA in relation to South African apartheid sport will be examined.

In 1962 the IOC adopted a resolution warning the South African Olympic and National Games Association (SAONGA) that they might be suspended by 1963 if it failed to show evidence that it would abide by the IOC principles of non-racial discrimination in sport. In 1964 South Africa was barred from the Tokyo Olympic Games because of its racial sport policy. In December 1966 the SCSA adopted a resolution at its meeting in Mali asking the IOC to maintain South Africa's suspension from the Olympic Games until it agreed to abide by the rules of non-discrimination in sport.

In May 1966 in Tehran a joint consultative meeting between the IOC executive and delegates from various National Olympic Committees (NOCs) of member countries took place. The South African Institute of Race Relations reported that:

At that joint meeting, fourteen African States, led by Nigeria,

demanded that South Africa be expelled from the Olympic movement and from international sport federations unless she complied fully with the Olympic Charter (Horrell, 1968, p. 321).

The pressures exerted upon the IOC following this demand were largely responsible for the establishment of the IOC three-member fact-finding commission headed by "Lord Killanin of Ireland, Reginald Alexander (who was white) of Kenya, and Sir Ademola (the only nonwhite IOC member from Africa) of Nigeria" (Espy, 1981, p. 100). The Commission visited South Africa in September 1967 and investigated the state of sport and race relations. It submitted its report in February 1968 to the IOC meeting in Grenoble, France. The report identified apartheid policy in South Africa as the factor preventing multiracial sport. Despite the report, the IOC decided to give the South African National Olympic Committee (SANOC) a chance to enter a team in accordance with the Olympic rules for the 1968 Mexico Olympics. The hope was that racial discrimination in amateur sport would be eliminated in South Africa before 1970, when the IOC meeting would reconsider the country's suspension.

The IOC's decision to allow South Africa into the 1968 Olympics was attacked by most sport bodies throughout the world. In Africa, the SCSA resolved that its thirty-two member countries including Nigeria would boycott the Mexico Games if South Africa was allowed to enter a team. At the executive meeting of the IOC held on the 20 and 21 April 1968, the committee reversed its earlier decision which would have permitted South Africa to enter a team for the Mexico Olympics. The reaction from South Africa on the reversed decision is reflected in Prime Minister Voster's statement which in part was as follows:

If what has happened is the pattern of how world events are going to be arranged in future, we are back in the jungle. Then it will be no longer necessary to arrange Olympic Games, but rather to have tree-climbing events (Lapchick, 1975, p. 121).

This reaction suggests the disappointment of many South African's over the decision of the IOC. In order to compensate for the suspension from the Mexico Olympics of 1968, South Africa organized her own Games in 1969, and invited foreign competitions to participate in them.

In the month of May, 1970 the IOC meeting in Amsterdam provided the opportunity for the African NOCs which were led by Abraham Ordia from Nigeria, to lay their eight-point charges¹ against SANOC. They asked that SANOC be expelled from the Olympic movement. Mr. Frank Braun, President of SANOC, was given the opportunity to reply to the charges before a decision was taken. At the end of the meeting a decision was taken that South Africa be expelled from the Olympic movement. It has been suggested that the tone of Mr. Braun's defence was not in good taste.

His tactics, however may have been the direct cause of South Africa's expulsion (as opposed to suspension). All press accounts about the . . . vote to expel South Africa expressed great surprise, with most blaming Braun's abrasive remarks for the result (Lapchick, 1975, p. 194).

As soon as the expulsion decision was announced at the meeting, Abraham Ordia was quoted to have commented on the outcome as follows: "It is nothing to be happy about. They are Africans - they are my brothers. I want to compete with them. I want to invite them to Nigeria. I want to invite them to the Pan-African Games. But for God's sake, let them change" (Lapchick, 1975, p. 194). In an interview at his residence in Lagos on 26 July 1982, Sir Ademola, an IOC member, recalled the incident when he said:

I am one of those who went to South Africa to investigate and write a report on the attitude of [white] South Africans to Africans generally. . . . We conceded giving them a chance for a year but after a year there was no change. I moved the motion in 1970 to expel South Africa from International Olympic Committee. . . . I do not regret it. . . .

The IOC has maintained its expulsion of South Africa from the Olympic

movement since 1970 up to the time of writing. The main reason has been that apartheid in South Africa's sports has not changed sufficiently to meet with the requirements of the Olympic principle under which it was expelled. The SCSA continues its opposition to South Africa's apartheid sport policy. Its other actions will be reflected as they are considered appropriate in subsequent sections.

The roles played by both Sir Ademola within the IOC, and Chief Ordia within the SCSA, regarding the actions taken by their respective organizations to get South Africa to change its racial policy in sport are significant and consistent with the stance of their country, Nigeria, on that issue.

THE UNITED NATIONS

The first non-sport international organization which exerted a countervailing force to South Africa's apartheid policies generally was the UN. It later adopted some resolutions specifically against apartheid sport. From the first day of Nigeria's independence she made public her faith in the UN and its universal declaration of human rights; for these reasons she has supported the organization. "Not only has Nigeria regularly paid its assessed dues to the UN budget, but it has also contributed generously to the voluntary fund to keep the United Nations solvent" (Akinyemi, 1978, p. x). Nigeria has always appointed its permanent representative to the UN who has made valuable contributions to the debates of the General Assembly. Nigeria has also been instrumental in taking actions against apartheid sport through her position as chairman of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid most of the years between 1970 and 1982. The Nigerian Chairmen are His Excellency (H.E.) Mr. Edwin Ogebe Ogbu, 1972-1975; H.E. Mr. Leslie Harriman, 1976-1979; H.E.

Mr. B. Akporode Clarke, 1979-1981; and H.E. Alhaji Maitama Sule, 1981 to the present. These ambassadors have always exercised the voting rights of Nigeria in all matters in accordance with the government position on respective issues.

1968-1975

Since the middle of this century, in an attempt to persuade the South African government to change its racial policies, many resolutions have been adopted by the UN call for sanctions against that government in a number of areas. It was not until 1968 that the first resolution of the General Assembly reflected an anti-apartheid sport message. "The passage concerned with sport could be considered revolutionary as it was the first time that sport had entered the array of United Nation 'sanctions' against South Africa" (Hunter, 1980, p. 19). The relevant section of the resolution "Requests all States and organizations to suspend cultural, educational, sporting and other exchanges with the racist regime and with organizations or institutions in South Africa which practice apartheid" (UN General Assembly Resolution 2396 [XXIII], 2 December 1968). The section was only one paragraph of the resolution titled "The policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa". The result of the voting on the resolution was 85 for, 3 against, 15 abstained, and 23 absent. Nigeria voted for the resolution. On 8 December 1970, resolution 2671 F (XXV) which repeated the clause as in the first resolution was passed. The voting on this occasion was 100 for, 2 against, 9 abstained and 16 absent. Nigeria voted for the resolution. It is relevant to state that during that year Nigeria was named the chairman of the UN Special Committee on Apartheid and Racial Discrimination. "Since 1970 Nigeria has retained the chairmanships of

the UN committees on Peace Keeping Operations; Apartheid and Racial Discriminations" (Akinyemi, 1978, p. x).

By 1971 significant progress had been made towards intensifying the fight against apartheid sport in the United Nations. For the first time the General Assembly devoted an entire resolution to "Apartheid in Sport". The resolution was 2775 D (XXVI) adopted on 29 November 1971. The content of the historic resolution is reproduced below:

RESOLUTION 2775 D (XXVI)

Apartheid in Sports

The General Assembly,

Recalling that Member States have pledged themselves, under Article 1 of the Charter of the United Nations, to promote and encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion,

Recalling further its requests to all States and national and international sports organizations to suspend exchanges of sporting events with South African teams selected under apartheid policies,

Bearing in mind that 1971 was designated as the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, to be observed in the name of the ever-growing struggle against racial discrimination in all its forms and manifestations and in the name of international solidarity with those struggling against racism,

1. Declares its unqualified support of the Olympic principle that no discrimination be allowed on the grounds of race, religion or political affiliation;
2. Affirms that merit should be the sole criterion for participation in sports activities;
3. Solemnly calls upon all national and international sports organizations to uphold the Olympic principle of non-discrimination and to discourage and deny support to sporting events organized in violation of this principle;
4. Calls upon individual sportsmen to refuse to participate in any sports activity in a country in which there is an official policy of racial discrimination or apartheid in the field of sports;
5. Urges all States to promote adherence to the Olympic principle of non-discrimination and to encourage their sports organizations to withhold support from sporting events organized in violation of this principle;
6. Requests national and international sports organizations and the public to deny any form of recognition to any sports activity

from which persons are debarred or in which they are subjected to any discrimination on the basis of race, religion or political affiliation;

7. Condemns the actions of the Government of South Africa in enforcing racial discrimination and segregation in sports;

8. Notes with regret that some national and international sports organizations have continued exchanges with teams from South Africa that have been selected for international competition on the basis of competition closed to otherwise qualified sportsmen solely on the basis of their race, colour, descent or national or ethnic origin;

9. Commends those international and national sports organizations that have supported the international campaign against apartheid in sports;

10. Requests all States to urge their national sports organizations to act in accordance with the present resolution;

11. Requests the Secretary-General:

(a) To bring the present resolution to the attention of international sports organizations;

(b) To keep the Special Committee on Apartheid informed on the implementation of the present resolution;

(c) To submit a report on this matter to the General Assembly at its twenty-seventh session.

1997th plenary meeting,
29 November 1971

(UN: Official Records of the General Assembly, 1971, p. 398).

The result of the voting on Resolution 2775 D (XXVI) was 106 for, 2 against, 7 abstained and 16 absent. Nigeria voted for the resolution. In subsequent years she has consistently voted for all resolutions against apartheid sport passed by the General Assembly. A part of the contribution of Nigeria to the world body's actions against apartheid is evident in the comment:

As chairman of the Special Committee [against Apartheid] from 1972 to 1975, H.E. Mr. Edwin Ogebe Ogbu of Nigeria contributed greatly to the encouragement of such concerted action, and undertook a number of missions for that purpose. . . . Countering the manoeuvres of the Pretoria regime and its friends to confuse public opinion, he affirmed that there can be no compromise on apartheid and racism (UN, No Compromise with Apartheid, 1976, p. 1)².

1976-1982

Between 1976 and 1982, among the actions of the UN relating to South Africa's apartheid policies five of them are of great interest to

this study. These are, first, the 'World Conference for Action against Apartheid', 22-26 August 1977. Second, the decision to establish an 'International Coordination Centre against Apartheid in Sport', 28 March 1980. Third, progress on the drafting of the 'UN International Convention against Apartheid in Sports' between 1976 and 1981. Fourth, the 'International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa', 20-27 May 1981. Fifth, marking the 'International Year of Mobilization for Sactions against South Africa, 1982'.

THE WORLD CONFERENCE FOR ACTION AGAINST APARTHEID,
LAGOS, 22-26 AUGUST 1977

The World Conference was organized by the UN in co-operation with the OAU and the Federal Government of Nigeria. It was held in Lagos and was

. . . the most representative international conference on apartheid ever gathered: 112 Governments, 12 intergovernmental organizations, 5 liberation movements, and 51 non-governmental organizations, as well as a number of prominent personalities, took part in its proceedings (UN, The Lagos Declaration for Action against Apartheid, 1977, p. 1).

The keynote address on that occasion was titled "No Compromise with Apartheid". It was delivered by the Nigerian Head of State H.E. Lt. General Olusegun Obasanjo. An extract from the address reflects the determination of Nigeria to fight racial discrimination in South Africa, and also not to fraternize with those who maintain friendly links with South Africa.

. . . for our part, we are convinced that there can be no compromise on the apartheid problems of South Africa. We find it difficult to fraternize with enterprises and organizations that are party to the system that holds our brothers and sisters in Southern Africa in bondage and regards us on account of our colour as sub-human. . . . Apartheid is the latest in the line of . . . threats to human progress. . . . If apartheid is not dismantled, it may yet be the cause of the greatest human conflict and tragedy in the world. It is my greatest hope that the world will be spared the great tragedy which

can only be the consequence of failure to remove the system of apartheid in South Africa (Obasanjo, 1977, pp. 25-26).

The President of the Conference was the Nigerian Commissioner for External Affairs, Brigadier Joseph N. Garba. He proposed the declaration which was adopted by consensus in the conference. It is known as "The Lagos Declaration for Action against Apartheid". Section III, paragraph 28 of the declaration states that: "The Conference urges States, and international and national sporting bodies, to take all appropriate steps within their jurisdiction to bring about the termination of all sporting contacts with South Africa." According to the traditions of Nigeria, a host during an agreement among partners has a moral obligation to ensure that the conditions of such agreement are observed. It is, therefore, likely that this was one of the basis for Nigeria's uncompromising stance against South Africa's apartheid sport in the latter years of the 1970s; particularly on her decision to singularly withdraw from the 1978 Edmonton Commonwealth Games.

INTERNATIONAL COORDINATION CENTRE AGAINST APARTHEID IN SPORT

On 28 March 1980, the UN Special Session decided that an international centre be set up to coordinate the campaign against apartheid in South African sport. It was to work in collaboration with the SCSA. The centre is based in London, England. The main activities of the centre are:

1. to coordinate the activities of all anti-apartheid movements involved in the campaign against apartheid in sport.
2. to inform all government organizations, the UN as well as all other interested agencies on all activities that take place within South Africa and elsewhere with regards to campaign against apartheid in sport and

racial discrimination.

3. to establish a source of information capable of throwing light into activities of South African Government with regards to sports (SCSA, Sport and Racial Discrimination, 1982, p. 16).

PROGRESS ON THE DRAFTING OF THE UN INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION
AGAINST APARTHEID IN SPORTS, 1976-1981

The main reasons for the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports are "to promote adherence to the Olympic principles of non-discrimination and to discourage and deny support to sporting events organized in violation of that principle" (General Assembly Resolution 31/6F, 9 November 1976). An Ad Hoc Committee was set up under the resolution of 9 November 1976 to perform two assignments: First, to prepare a draft declaration on apartheid in sports, as an interim measure, and to submit it to the Assembly at its thirty-second session.

Second, to undertake preparatory steps towards the drafting of an "International Convention against Apartheid in Sports", and to report thereon to the Assembly at its thirty-second session. The members of the Ad Hoc Committee were the existing members of the Special Committee against Apartheid of which Nigeria was the chairman; seven other Member States to be appointed by the President of the General Assembly representing geographical zones of the world.

On 14 December 1977 the General Assembly adopted and proclaimed the "International Declaration against Apartheid in Sports".³ A great deal of responsibility was placed on "States" in ensuring the observance of the eighteen articles in the declaration; for example, according to Article 5:

States shall take appropriate actions against their sporting teams and organizations whose members collectively or individually participate in sports activities in any country practising apartheid or with teams from a country practising apartheid. . . .

In the opinion of this writer, this article is expected to cover all sports, regardless of being an Olympic or non-Olympic sport. The intention is simple and clear, namely to isolate any country which practises apartheid until it changes.

Sports bodies are also given responsibilities under the declaration. Articles 13 and 16 stipulate that:

International, regional and national sports bodies shall uphold the Olympic principle and cease all sports contact with the racist apartheid sport bodies (Article 13).

All national Olympic committees shall declare their opposition to apartheid in sports and to sports contact with South Africa, and shall actively encourage all affiliates and constituent members to end all sports contact with South Africa (Article 16).

With regards to the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports, the General Assembly's resolution 32/105 M of 14 December 1977 requested the Ad Hoc Committee to procede with the work on submitting a draft convention. Progress on the drafting of the convention continued through 1977 and 1981. In 1979 the composition of the Ad Hoc Committee was 24 members as follows:

Algeria	Malaysia
Barbados	Nepal
Canada	<u>Nigeria</u>
Congo	Peru
German Democratic Republic (GDR)	Philippines
Ghana	Somalia
Guinea	Sudan
Haiti	Syrian Arabic Republic (SAR)
Hungary	Trinidad and Tobago
India	Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic
Indonesia	United Republic of Tanzania
Jamaica	Yugoslavia

The representatives of the OAU and two South African liberation movements, the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania were accorded observer status to the Ad Hoc Committee.

In 1980 the Ad Hoc Committee set up a nine-member working group to carry out consultations with appropriate bodies regarding the draft convention. The working group was required to report back to the Ad Hoc Committee. The composition of the working group is, Barbados, Hungary, Jamaica, Nepal, Nigeria, Philippines, Somalia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and United Republic of Tanzania.

On 3 September 1980, the Ad Hoc Committee held consultations with Mr. Abraham Ordia (Nigerian), President of the SCSA, and Mr. Amadou Lamine Ba (Senegalese), Secretary of the SCSA. They were required to make contributions to the draft convention. In Mr. Ordia's letter to the Ad Hoc Committee dated 4 September 1980, among other points he stated,

. . . we must stress the belief that without the retention of what is now generally referred to as the 'Third Party Principle', the convention will have no meaning for Africa . . . the conviction of Africa [is] that all sporting links with the racist regime of South Africa must be stopped and that the only effective means to accomplish this is to provide for sanctions against those countries that chose to collaborate with the racists in South Africa. . . . (SCSA, Sport and Racial Discrimination, 1982, p. 15).

The Ad Hoc Committee revised the draft of the 'International Convention against Apartheid in Sports'.⁴ This followed its consideration of facts received from the various consultations. In 1981 the committee stated that it

. . . recommends that the General Assembly should request the Secretary-General to send the revised draft of the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports to all Member States for their comments and views by 30 April 1981 so that the committee may take them into account in preparing the final text (SCSA, Sport and Racial Discrimination, 1982, p. 6).

It is evident from the General Assembly's resolutions 33/183 N of 23 January 1979, 34/93 N of 12 December 1979, and 35/206/M of 16 December 1980, all of which addressed apartheid in sports, that Member States are familiar with the progress made in the draft International Convention against Apartheid in Sports up to that point. It would therefore appear that only article 10 requires a decision by way of choice between 10 A or 10 B as shown in the revised draft. The differences are as follows:

- a) The use of "nations" in 10 A, and "nationals" in 10 B.
- b) The inclusion in 10 B of "with or . . . or from a country which include individuals or teams that engage in sports activities with teams and individuals from a country practising apartheid".

This writer believes that article 10 B is more appropriate than 10 A because the use of "nationals" in 10 B includes all individuals from respective nations, irrespective of club or national teams. Whereas the use of "nations" implies national teams in which case clubs and individuals may regroup and play against teams which practise apartheid in sports. Considering the efforts which have been put into the various stages of the draft convention, it is only fair that the outcome should not lend itself to obvious circumvention. Rather, the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports, when it is finally approved, should be capable of promoting adherence to the Olympic principle of non-discrimination and of discouraging and denying support to sporting events organized in violation of that principle.

THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SANCTIONS
AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA

This conference was organized by the UN entirely and was held in Paris, France. The chairman of the preparatory committee of the

conference was the chairman of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid H.E. Mr. B. Akporode Clark from Nigeria. The conference was attended by a wide range of representatives similar to those which participated in the Lagos conference of 1977.

The keynote speaker at the Paris conference was the Vice-President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria H.E. Dr. Alex I. Ekwueme. In his address he said,

This conference reaffirms the abiding commitment of the vast majority of mankind, to continue the search for a peaceful resolution of the crises created by apartheid south Africa . . . while at the same time asserting the obligation of the international community to take enforcement measures to put an end to South Africa's intransigence and defiance. . . . There is no longer any time left for ambiguity and prevarications over apartheid South Africa. Everyone of us must now stand and be counted either for or against apartheid. . . . We owe it as a duty, . . . to bring this pervicious system of apartheid to an ignominious end by acting collectively to impose mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against apartheid South Africa. Mankind must once and for all dramatically and decisively repudiate this doctrine which seeks to undermine human civilization itself. . . . It is my honour and privilege to pledge my country's best endeavours to the attainment and fulfilment of [freedom for South Africa] (UN, Report of the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, 1981, pp. 55-57).

It would appear that the conference gave Nigeria another opportunity to make her contribution in a significant way to the fight against apartheid policies of South Africa.

With regards to sports matters, the conference adopted a resolution titled "Boycott of Apartheid Sport". The main points in the resolution extracted from the conference report and the SCSA's Sport and Racial Discrimination include the following:

1. The conference commended the UN Special Committee against Apartheid for compiling a register of sportsmen and women and administrators who flagrantly violate the sport boycott.
2. It appealed to all Governments and non-governmental organizations to consider appropriate action against those who collaborate with apartheid.

3. It condemned sports organizations, notably in Argentina, France, Ireland, New Zealand, United Kingdom, and the United States of America who actively maintain sporting links with apartheid.
4. It expressed support for the Irish and New Zealand anti-apartheid movements and their efforts to end sporting relations between their countries and South Africa.
5. It recommended that the 'United Nations Convention against Apartheid in Sport' should be finalized at the earliest possible date and called upon all countries to support the Convention as a means of totally isolating South Africa in sport.
6. The conference called upon the New Zealand Government to deny visas to the members of the South African rugby team if the New Zealand Rugby Football Union insisted on going ahead with the 1981 tour. It also called upon African and other Commonwealth countries to transfer the Commonwealth Finance Ministers' Conference to a venue outside New Zealand if the tour takes place.
7. The conference praised the sportsmen and women in South Africa who openly defied apartheid sports policy. It commended those individuals in South Africa who uphold the principle that there cannot be a non-racial sports structure in a racially segregated society.

The content of the resolution are far-reaching and comprehensive. The resolution itself was made possible partly due to the thorough preparatory work for the conference, and partly due to the active participation of the various organizations which were represented in the conference. Among the organizations were the Commonwealth Secretariat, OAU, SCSA and the IOC; and also anti-apartheid movements from the UK and Ireland, New Zealand, USA and SAN-ROC.

MARKING THE INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF MOBILIZATION
FOR SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA, 1982

The United Nations declared 1982 as the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa. Each member State was required to organize activities to mark the year in a manner it considered appropriate to its condition. To mark the year at the United Nations level, it set aside the Plenary Meeting of its General Assembly in New York on 5 November 1982 for special presentations. On that occasion seven distinguished persons considered to have made outstanding contributions to the International Movement for Sanctions against South Africa were honoured with presentations of the UN gold medals. Those honoured include Chief Abraham Ordia of Nigeria. Others were Romesh Chandra of India, late President Boumediene of Algeria, Madam Jeanne-Martin Cisse of Guinea, who was one-time chairman of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid, Archbishop Huddleston of Britain, Jan Nico Scholtee of the Netherlands and the late Martin Luther King of the USA. A report on Chief Ordia's award stated that:

It is generally believed that it is in the area of sport that the committee has achieved its most significant success in International Campaign Against Apartheid. In this connection Chief Ordia . . . has proved to be a shining example. . . . (Press Release, Source unindicated, September, 1982).

It is evident that Nigeria has been chairman of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid between 1970 and 1982 except from October 1975 to April 1976 when Madam Jeanne-Martin Cisse of Guinea succeeded Mr. Edwin Ogebe Ogbu of Nigeria. During this period Nigeria was instrumental in the establishment of the resolutions adopted against apartheid sport. She has served as member of the Ad Hoc Committee which drafted the International Declaration against Apartheid in Sports, and the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports. Her overall

“The General Assembly of the United Nations, meeting during the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa, and on the recommendation of its Special Committee against *Apartheid* on awards for ‘outstanding contribution to the international movement for sanctions against South Africa in solidarity with the national liberation movement of South Africa’ presents a gold medal to

Mr. Abraham Ordia

on the fifth day of November Nineteen Hundred and Eighty-two.



Imre Hollai

President

General Assembly of the
United Nations”

Figure 6. The UN Award to Chief Abraham Ordia, 5 November 1982.

contribution to the UN actions as a countervailing force aimed at encouraging South Africa to change her apartheid sport policy has been significant.

THE COMMONWEALTH

The Commonwealth is a voluntary association of sovereign nations representing about one-quarter of the world population. . . . The Commonwealth has no constitution, but its members subscribe to the principles which were unanimously approved by the Commonwealth Heads of Government in Singapore in 1971. These principles include support for the United Nations and its efforts to remove the causes of tension between nations, and belief . . . in equal rights of race, colour, creed or political views. . . . Racial prejudice is recognized as an unmitigated evil to be combated in each member nation, and racial oppression is expressed (Bradfield, 1979, p. XLvi).

The Commonwealth member nations have endeavoured to work together in keeping with their common concern expressed in the above statement.

South Africa, a former Commonwealth member country, withdrew her membership in 1961, largely due to its racial policies which had raised concerns among the collegial nations of this fraternity.

Apart from supporting the UN resolutions against apartheid sport of South Africa the Commonwealth initiated its own actions on the issue. The most prominent among them are first, the Heads of Government declaration of the Gleneagles Agreement in 1977. Second, the Lusaka Declaration on Racism in 1979. Third, the transfer of the 1981 Commonwealth meeting of its Finance Ministers from New Zealand to the Bahamas, following the refusal of the Government of New Zealand to stop the 1981 Springbok Rugby Football of South Africa's tour of New Zealand.

THE GLENEAGLES AGREEMENT, 1977

The declaration of the Gleneagles Agreement took place on 12 June 1977, during the meeting of the Commonwealth Heads of Government of 8-15

June 1977. The document is referred to as either 'The Gleneagles Agreement' or the "Commonwealth Statement on Apartheid in Sport". The text of the statement is as follows:

Commonwealth Statement on Apartheid in Sport

Gleneagles (Scotland), 12 June 1977

The member countries of the Commonwealth, embracing peoples of diverse races, colours, languages and faiths, have long recognized racial prejudice and discrimination as a dangerous sickness and an unmitigated evil, and are pledged to use all their efforts to foster human dignity everywhere. At their London meeting, the Heads of Government reaffirmed that apartheid in sports, as in other fields, is an abomination and runs directly counter to the Declaration of Commonwealth Principles which they made at Singapore on 22 January 1971.

They were conscious that sport is an important means of developing and fostering understanding between the people, and especially between the young people, of all countries. But they were also aware that, quite apart from other factors, sporting contacts between their nationals and the nationals of countries practising apartheid in sport tend to encourage the belief (however unwarranted) that they are prepared to condone this abhorrent policy, or are less than totally committed to the Principles embodied in their Singapore Declaration. Regretting past misunderstandings and difficulties and recognizing that these were partly the result of inadequate intergovernmental consultations, they agreed that they would seek to remedy this situation in the context of the increased level of understanding now achieved.

They reaffirmed their full support for the international campaign against apartheid and welcomed the efforts of the UN to reach universally accepted approaches to the question of sporting contacts within the framework of that campaign.

Mindful of these and other considerations, they accepted it as the urgent duty of each of their Governments vigorously to combat the evil of apartheid by withholding any form of support for, and by taking every practical step to discourage, contact or competition by their nationals with sporting organizations, teams or sportsmen from SA or from any other country where sports are organized on the basis of race, colour or ethnic origin.

They fully acknowledge that it was for each Government to determine in accordance with its laws the methods by which it might best discharge these commitments. But they recognized that the effective fulfilment of their commitments was essential to the harmonious development of Commonwealth sport hereafter.

They acknowledged also that the full realization of their objectives involved the understanding, support and active participation of the nationals of their countries and of their national sporting organizations and authorities. As they drew a curtain across the past, they

issued a collective call for that understanding, support and participation with a view to ensuring that in this matter the peoples and Governments of the Commonwealth might help to give a lead to the world.

Heads of Government specially welcomed the belief, unanimously expressed at their meeting, that in the light of their consultations and accord, there were unlikely to be future sporting contacts of any significance between Commonwealth countries or their nationals and SA while that country continues to pursue the detestable policy of apartheid. On that basis, and having regard to their commitments, they looked forward with satisfaction to the holding of the Commonwealth Games in Edmonton, and to the continued strengthening of Commonwealth sport generally. (Legum, Colin (ed.). Africa Contemporary Record, London: Africana Publishing Company, 1978/79, p. C48).

Nigeria participated fully in the Heads of Government meeting of 8-15 June 1977 during which the Gleneagles Agreement was signed. She was represented by Brigadier Shehu Yar'Adua, Chief of Staff, Supreme Headquarters, who was next in command to the Military Head of State. The Agreement reaffirms the Commonwealth's total opposition to apartheid and resolve to end sporting links with South Africa.

THE LUSAKA DECLARATION ON RACISM AND RACIAL PREJUDICE, 1979

In August 1979 the Commonwealth Heads of Government (CHG) met in Lusaka, Zambia at the biennial summit of that year. Among the outcomes of the summit was the Commonwealth declaration on human rights, named "The Lusaka Declaration on Racism and Racial Prejudice".⁵ The declaration recalls the Commonwealth statement on apartheid in sport of June 1977, and reaffirms the stand of the Commonwealth on racial equality and the worth of the individual human being. Before the final declaration was produced,

A working group of ten foreign ministers . . . was set up, The group consisted of Nigeria, Canada, Malaysia, Tanzania, Guyana, India, Australia, New Zealand and Lesotho. It met on Monday afternoon and Tuesday morning. It made only minor changes to the draft. . . . (Commonwealth Secretariat, Commonwealth Currents, October 1979, p. 3).

It is evident from the composition of the working party which finalized the draft of the declaration that Nigeria had made a contribution.

Major-General H.E.O. Adefope, Commissioner for External Affairs, represented Nigeria at the summit, and thereby a signatory to the Lusaka Declaration of the Commonwealth and Racial Prejudice.

THE TRANSFER OF THE COMMONWEALTH FINANCE MINISTERS' CONFERENCE, 1981
FROM NEW ZEALAND TO BAHAMAS

Before the 1981 Springbok tour of New Zealand came up there were a great number of appeals made to that Government to stop the tour. These appeals were in keeping with the Gleneagles Agreement. But Prime Minister Muldoon of New Zealand was adamant and the tour went ahead. The Commonwealth Secretary General Mr. Shridath Ramphal commenting on the tour,

. . . told the meeting [of the Commonwealth Games Federation] that the Springbok tour had occasioned disquiet, anger and shame. In a deliberate act of disapproval, Commonwealth governments had moved the 1981 meeting of Finance Ministers from its earlier-agreed venue in New Zealand to The Bahamas (Commonwealth Secretariat, Commonwealth Currents, June 1982, p. 1).

The action of the Commonwealth Heads of Government reported at the CGF, appears to be a response to the call made by the UN Conference on Sanctions against South Africa in Paris in May 1981, that ". . . if the New Zealand . . . insists on going ahead with the [Springbok] tour. It called upon African and other Commonwealth countries to transfer the Commonwealth Finance Ministers' Conference to a venue outside New Zealand . . ." (UN, Report of the International Conference on Sanctions Against South Africa, 1981, p. 135).

There is evidence to suggest that the transfer of the Finance Ministers' meeting from New Zealand to the Bahamas was a major political setback for Prime Minister Muldoon of New Zealand. In his speech during

the (CHG) meeting in Melbourne later in 1981, among other things he said:

. . . I must tell you that our confidence in the Commonwealth way of doing things has been shaken this year. New Zealanders could not understand the willingness of the Commonwealth Committee on Southern Africa to override the decision of Commonwealth Finance Ministers that they would meet this year in Auckland. For an organization which has dealt with any number of delicate subjects without recourse to coercion or the abandoning of consensus, the arbitrary transfer was an unprecedented decision. . . . At the heart of the decision on the Finance Ministers' Meeting lies a fundamental misunderstanding about the Gleneagles Agreement and New Zealand's attitude to it. . . . My party was elected to power in 1975 on the clear basis that we would preserve the right of sports bodies to take their own decisions about international competition. We were re-elected in 1978 - after Gleneagles - in exactly the same policy. There could not have been an agreement at Gleneagles from my point of view if New Zealand Government had been required by it to override the decision-making powers rested in our sports bodies by withholding visas (Intervention by the Prime Minister of New Zealand, the Right Hon. R.D. Muldoon, C.H., World Political Scene, CHOGM 1981, pp. 3-6).

On that occasion it would appear that the consensus at the CHG meeting was opposed to the New Zealand's attitude to the Gleneagles Agreement. The probable effect of the transfer of the Finance Ministers' meeting from New Zealand, with respect to its attitude to the Gleneagles Agreement may be seen in her actions on the issue in subsequent years.

According to the evidence presented in this section, Nigeria has played a role in the actions taken by the Commonwealth on matters relating to apartheid in South African sport. She was a signatory to the Gleneagles Agreement in 1977. She was a member of the working group which presented the final draft of the Lusaka Declaration on Racism and Racial Prejudice. She was also a signatory to that declaration in 1979. She was also a party to the decision to transfer the Finance Ministers' meeting from New Zealand in 1981.

THE COMMONWEALTH GAMES FEDERATION

The Commonwealth Games Federation (CGF) is an autonomous sport promoting body in the Commonwealth. It is a non-governmental organization (NGO). Its members are Commonwealth Games Associations from respective Commonwealth member nations.

Nigeria is a member of the CGF through her National Olympic Committee, a non-governmental body which coordinates matters relating to both the Olympics and the Commonwealth Games in the country. Chief Abraham Ordia has been the General Secretary of Nigeria's NOC for two decades, while Dr. L. O. Adegbite has been its Acting President for the past five years.

The actions of the CGF directed against South Africa's apartheid sport policy give effect to the decisions of the CHG. Following the withdrawal of South Africa from the Commonwealth in 1961, the CGF automatically excluded her from participating in Commonwealth Games effective from the 1962 celebrations in Perth, Australia.

After South Africa's exit from the CGF the attention of the anti-apartheid advocates were directed to countries which continued sporting participation with the racist country. Apart from anti-apartheid demonstrations which have marked the opposition to sporting engagements with South Africa, threats of boycott of Commonwealth Games by the African, Asian and the Caribbean members of the CGF have been used against Great Britain prior to the 1970 Edinburgh Games. New Zealand was similarly threatened preceding the 1974 Christchurch Games. There have also been calls for the suspension of New Zealand from the 1978 and 1982 Commonwealth Games as a consequence of her sporting links with South Africa. The actions which the CGF took to pacify these

threats and while continuing to its opposition to apartheid in South Africa's sport are considered next.

THE 1970 EDINBURGH COMMONWEALTH GAMES AND THE SCHEDULED
JUNE 1970 SPRINGBOK CRICKET TOUR OF GREAT BRITAIN

In 1970 the CGF member associations from Africa, Asia and the Caribbean threatened to boycott the Edinburgh Commonwealth Games. This was to press an action by the CGF which could influence the Marleybone Cricket Club (MCC), the governing body for English cricket to withdraw its invitation to the South African Cricket Association (SACA) white body, to tour Britain that year. The Nigerian president of the SCSA, Chief Abraham Ordia, announced that the thirteen African member associations of the CGF would boycott the Edinburgh Games of July 1970 if the Springbok cricket tour of Britain scheduled for June the same year took place. This prompted quick action on the part of the Commonwealth Games Federation Chairman, Sir Alexander Ross, who flew to Nigeria on 25-26 April to talk with SCSA President Abraham Ordia. Sir Ross reported that the African countries would almost certainly withdraw from the Games should the cricket tour continue as planned. In an interview with the press, the chairman of the organizing committee of the Games in Edinburgh, Sir Herbert Brechin, stated that:

The communications with the African countries have been made by the headquarters of the Commonwealth Games Federation in London and particularly their New Zealand Chairman Alex Ross. It was Ross's visit to Lagos in the day that the story broke in London which confirmed that the decision of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa to withdraw from the Edinburgh Games if the South African cricket tour took place was no idle threat. The loss of African countries is likely to mean a total reduction in Games competitors and visiting officials of just 300 (The Guardian [Manchester] 6 May 1970, p. 22).

The boycott threat from Africa was soon followed by others, "By May 15, India, Jamaica, Trinidad, Guyana and Barbados had announced

their intentions to withdraw from the . . . Games if the tour began" (Lapchick, 1975, p. 175). The situation was so tense that the matter was mentioned in the British parliament.

The British Minister for sport reported to parliament that:

The British Commonwealth will seriously be undermined if the Asian, African, and Caribbean countries withdrew. Out of 18 Asian, African, and Caribbean countries in the Games we believe 12 have either already indicated their intention to withdraw or will most certainly do so (The Guardian, [Manchester] 15 May 1970, p. 20).

During the same session of the parliament:

Mr. Philip Noel-Baker that distinguished old athlete and internationalist, impressed everybody. . . . He predicted that if the South African tour goes on the Commonwealth Games will be killed stone dead. . . . The Commonwealth itself might scratch (The Guardian [Manchester] 15 May 1970, p. 1).

In an effort to avert the potential mass withdrawals from the Edinburgh Games, "Alex Ross of the Commonwealth Games [Federation] met with the MCC to attempt to get it to reconsider, without success" (Lapchick, 1975, p. 175). In the end it was the intervention of the Labour government of Prime Minister Wilson which persuaded the MCC to withdraw its invitation to South Africa for the tour. The Edinburgh July 1970 Games were thereby saved. The hurried flight to Lagos by Sir Alexander Ross, the Chairman of the CGF, to discuss with Chief Abraham Ordia, proved to Sir Ross and the British government that Nigeria and the other African member countries meant to withdraw from the Games. It helped in a way to stimulate a part of the British public opinion against the cricket tour. The visit to Lagos was among the many actions Sir Ross undertook to avert the boycott threats of the Edinburgh Games. Similarly his meeting with the MCC was to persuade them to withdraw their invitation to South Africa. All these were taken on behalf of the CGF. The role of Abraham Ordia was evident in these actions.

THE 1974 CHRISTCHURCH, NEW ZEALAND COMMONWEALTH GAMES AND THE
SCHEDULED 1973 SOUTH AFRICAN RUGBY TOUR OF NEW ZEALAND

There had been threats of possible boycott of the 1974 Christchurch Commonwealth Games even prior to the time that the Games were awarded to New Zealand. When the New Zealand Amateur Athletic Association (NZAAA) decided to take part officially in the 1969 all-white South African Games held in Bloemfontein during March and April, "Kenya threatened reprisals against countries sending athletes to Bloemfontein. Canterbury athletes were afraid that such a tour would ruin Christchurch's bid to win the venue for the 1974 Commonwealth Games . . ." (Thompson, 1975, p. 45). Moreover, a proposal by the NZAAA to invite South African athletes to tour New Zealand the following year (1970) further added insult to injury. Later in 1969 Mr. Lance Cross, Chairman of the New Zealand Olympic and Commonwealth Games Committee, attended an IOC meeting in Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia where he heard the views of the African CG member countries on the New Zealand affairs with regards to her continued sporting links with South Africa. On his return, a part of his report and other developments relating the proposed tour by South African athletes included that the

African delegates had told him that a New Zealand tour by South African athletes would have serious consequences. The possibility of reprisals from . . . African countries was noted with alarm by Commonwealth Games Promotion Committee. . . . News that South African athletes could be expected to visit in February or March 1970 was received with alarm in Auckland and Christchurch. . . . When the honorary secretary of the British Commonwealth Federation, Mr. K.S. Duncan, visited New Zealand, he explained that the invitation was unwise. If the South African team visited New Zealand, Christchurch would lose its bid for the 1974 Commonwealth Games. . . . After meeting Mr. Duncan, the management committee of the NZAAA decided not to invite the South Africans . . . (Thompson, 1975, p. 47).

Despite the unsettled situation and the clear concerns of many member nations with respect to New Zealand's sporting links with South Africa

the 1974 Games were awarded to Christchurch during the 1970 Edinburgh Games meeting of the CGF.

In February 1972, the Council of the New Zealand Rugby Football Union (NZRFU) issued a formal invitation to South Africa's rugby tour of New Zealand in 1973. As soon as the invitation became known, "Mr. Abraham Ordia, President Supreme Council for Sport in Africa repeated [that] if the Springbok rugby team toured New Zealand in 1973 then African countries would not take part in the Commonwealth Games in Christchurch in 1974" (Thompson, 1975, p. 62). Many New Zealanders felt that if African countries boycotted the Christchurch Games under such conditions other member countries might also withdraw from participation.

Domestic opposition to the Springbok tour was evident in New Zealand. Anti-apartheid bodies declared that they would campaign against the tour openly. The organizations included 'Halt All Racist Tour' (HART), church organizations and their allies. The organizing committee of the Christchurch Commonwealth Games had meetings with the government after which "the chairman of the Organizing Committee left for London taking with him the assurance necessary to 'minimise the efforts' of Mr. Ordia to dissuade the African States from competing at Christchurch if the tour proceeded" (Thompson, 1975, p. 63). In the end the New Zealand "Prime Minister directed the Rugby Union to defer its invitation to South Africa. The direction was accepted 'under protest' but proved generally acceptable to the public" (Thompson, 1975, p. 67). The conditions for the boycott threats were removed and the Christchurch Games were staged and well attended by African nations including Nigeria.

Although there are no records of formal meetings of the CGF on the threat to the Christchurch Games, there is evidence about the intervention by the Federation's headquarters in London. The visit of

the Honorary Secretary of the British CGF, Mr. Duncan, to New Zealand and his advice to the NZAAA led to the withdrawal of an invitation to the South African athletes to tour New Zealand in 1970. That withdrawal enabled Christchurch to win the bid as host for the 1974 Games. The meetings in London by the Chairman of the 1974 Games Organizing Committee were with the officials of the CGF headquarters. The actions of the CGF in opposition to South Africa's apartheid in sport policy are evident from its efforts which saved the Christchurch Games.

According to the evidence presented relating to the boycott threats to the Games it is apparent that the major threats were those from the African Commonwealth member countries. In most cases the key actor on the African side was Mr. Abraham Ordia, President of the SCSA. Through his efforts the role of Nigeria in the actions taken by the CGF against the South African apartheid in sport can be indirectly estimated.

THE 1978 EDMONTON, CANADA COMMONWEALTH GAMES AND THE AFRICAN BOYCOTT THREAT

The opposition to South Africa's apartheid in sport by African nations and the determination to discourage sporting links with that country by other countries have been largely responsible for the boycott threats of the Commonwealth Games since 1970. The government of New Zealand under the Nationalist party was the only government of a Commonwealth nation which officially encouraged the maintenance of sporting links with South Africa. The government "invested . . . touring teams with informal diplomatic status . . . the All Black team received from the Government a state farewell at Parliament Building before leaving for South Africa . . ." (Thompson, 1975, p. 92). The Africans

. . . view isolation as the only vehicle through which change can be made in South African sport. Ostensibly, the African strategy is

working, as the only change which has occurred in South African sport has taken place over . . . the years in which South Africa has witnessed its greatest isolation. Yet these changes have been by African and Canadian government standards, minimal and "cosmetic" (Hoy, 1979, p. 133).

The action to isolate South Africa from international sports, taken by independent African nations, has been responsible for their conflicts with the New Zealand government stand on the issue. Clearly the Africans had wanted New Zealand banned from the 1978 Edmonton Games. Failure to accomplish this goal made the possibility of an African nations' boycott very real. That was the general stance following the Montreal Olympics boycott of 1976.

After the Gleneagles Agreement had been signed in 1977, the President of the Edmonton Commonwealth Games Foundation, Dr. M.L. Van Vliet, visited a number of African member countries of the CGF including Nigeria. During his visits he succeeded in explaining the traditional anti-apartheid stance of the Canadian government as evident in its Prime Minister's contribution to the establishment of the Gleneagles Agreement. He also indicated the efforts of his corporation in assisting with part of the transportation from Algiers to Edmonton of African delegates (an action taken because the 3 All-African Games would end in Algiers a week before the opening of the Edmonton Commonwealth Games).

On the basis of the Gleneagles Agreement and the visits of Dr. Van Vliet, the Africans decided to withdraw the boycott threats. After taking that decision the African nations expected in vain that New Zealand would express publicly an intention to discontinue sporting links with South Africa. In the opinion of the African nations,

. . . it would appear that only a change of attitude on the part of New Zealand may save future sporting activities. And so when we met in Algiers for the All-Africa Games we discussed the matter again, but then we left each country to take its own decision on the matter (Interview with Dr. Adegbite in Lagos, 28 July 1982).

Following the decision in Algiers, out of the eleven African member nations which accepted invitations to participate in the Games only Nigeria withdrew from the Edmonton celebrations of the XI Commonwealth Games. The other ten countries participated. The reason given by Nigeria for her withdrawal was that her action was a protest against New Zealand which maintained sporting links with South Africa in violation of the requirements of the Gleneagles Agreement. A separate section will be devoted to a detailed discussion of the withdrawal of Nigeria from the 1978 Commonwealth Games.

THE 1982 BRISBANE, AUSTRALIA GAMES AND THE CODE OF CONDUCT

During the 1960's and 1970's a number of anti-apartheid actions were taken by different organizations in different parts of the world. Some of the actions took the form of resolutions or agreements, while others were protests and boycotts. New Zealand has been one of the targets of some of these actions.

Despite the New Zealand experience, its Rugby Football Union (NZRFU) extended an invitation in September 1980 to South Africa's Springbok Rugby Union to tour New Zealand in 1981. That invitation was regarded by many anti-apartheid movements and organizations inside and outside of New Zealand as a deliberate effort to perpetuate the sporting link between South Africa and New Zealand. The government of the country issuing the invitation was looked to by the outside world, particularly the Commonwealth member nations, to "take practical steps to discourage contact or competition" by its nationals with South Africa. Such a step was considered a requirement of the Gleneagles Agreement of 1977. In the view of Nigeria, the New Zealand government did not take adequate steps to make the NZRFU withdraw its invitation to South

Africa.

In June, 1981, Nigeria spearheaded a meeting in Lome, Togo, of the representatives from Commonwealth member countries. At that meeting a decision was taken to submit a petition to Sir Alexander Ross, Chairman of the Commonwealth Games Federation. The letter was dated 28 June 1981. An extract from the letter is as follows:

We, representing the fifteen member Commonwealth Games Association in Africa . . . are writing to you on a chronic matter of New Zealand's continued intransigent sporting relations with racist South Africa. . . . We sincerely appeal to you to use your good offices to prevail upon New Zealand authorities to cancel the tour [of New Zealand by the Springboks from South Africa]. Should this fail then we call upon your Federation to exclude New Zealand from participating in the Commonwealth Games in Brisbane, Australia in 1982. Should this again fail then the 15 African Commonwealth member Associations of your Federation will reserve the right to take whatever appropriate measures they may deem fit.

The letter was duly replied to by Sir Ross. An extract from his reply dated 17 July 1981, is quoted below:

Like you I am greatly perturbed over the possible South Africa Rugby Springbok's tour of New Zealand. . . . It is I know, the wish of all our 55 Commonwealth Games Associations to preserve the Commonwealth Games, and I also am sure that you and I both share this view. I hope that between us this problem can be resolved satisfactorily and that the Games in Brisbane next year will be a great success.

Besides this move initiated by Nigeria through the fifteen member Commonwealth Associations in Africa to Sir Alexander Ross, Chairman, CGF who is himself a New Zealander, she initiated another move through the SCSA directly to the Government of New Zealand on the same issue. Inside New Zealand itself, "Since 1 May 1981 when the first major demonstrations were held against the tour, over 275,000 New Zealanders participated in public demonstrations against apartheid and the tour" (Amanda, [Wellington], 9 November 1981, p. 3). In spite of the moves initiated by Nigeria and in the face of the demonstrations inside New Zealand the Government of Prime Minister Muldoon maintained its stance

of non-interference with the decision by NZRFU to host the Springboks from South Africa. The CGF also stated that New Zealand could not be withdrawn from the 1982 Brisbane Games because there is no provision for sanction within the 50 year old constitution of the CGF. In this regard according to Chief Ordia

. . . we said constitutions are made by man, not man for constitutions . . . let us meet and revise the constitution. This constitution was written in 1930, . . . when most of us in Africa, Caribbean and Asia were colonies. Now, we no longer are colonies . . . let us . . . revise the constitution, provide for sanctions which could apply to any country that violates the Gleneagles agreement; that is all we ask for, let's call a meeting, we asked for this in June 1981. We made this request and we wanted this meeting held in Baden Baden on the occasion of the Olympic congress [in September 1981], so that people will be there in any case. You "kill two birds with one stone" as the English say - it will be cheaper, nobody will grumble that he cannot afford to come independently . . . this was turned down . . . (Interview with Chief Ordia, Lagos, 22 July 1982).

The pressure on the CGF chairman to convene a meeting to discuss the issue followed from several other national associations. Finally, "the Commonwealth Games Federation, . . . first-ever extraordinary meeting . . . was held at Marlborough House in London in May" (Commonwealth Secretariat, Commonwealth Currents, June 1982, p. 1). During the meeting, "in the final analysis New Zealand, for the first time condemned apartheid in sports . . . and promised that she was going to do everything to help us in the struggle in the international campaign against apartheid" (Chief Ordia, 22 July 1982).⁶ The Assembly issued a communique at the end of the special one day session titled "Draft Statement agreed at: Extraordinary General Assembly at . . . Marlborough House . . . 5 May 1982".⁷ Among other points, the statement reflects that the meeting:

. . . unanimously condemned the tour of New Zealand in 1981 by the Springbok rugby team of South Africa . . . [and] decided that there should be a thorough review of the constitution, and that this should include incorporation of a code of Conduct and provision for the convening of Special General Assemblies. It directed that provisions be drafted for consideration of the General Assembly of the

Commonwealth Games Federation at Brisbane in September 1982 . . .
(Minutes of the Commonwealth Games Federation, 5 May 1982).

During the meeting, among other things,

Mr. Ordia stated that at no time had the NZO & CGA taken any strong steps aimed at the cancellation of the Springboks tour, nor had it specifically deplored it. Furthermore it had never condemned apartheid in sport. "In sport" were the operative words (Minutes of the Extraordinary Meeting of the CGF, London, 5 May 1982).

The New Zealand representative at that meeting was Mr. R.

Dutton. He stated among other things that:

. . . I accept in sportsmanship the comments made by my colleague opposite. . . . I want to make it absolutely clear that the New Zealand Games Association is totally opposed to apartheid; is totally opposed to apartheid in sport and I can give you my categorical assurance that the Springbok Rugby Tour of New Zealand was an unforgivable blow to the struggle against apartheid itself, and I condemn it unreservedly. . . . Our record has not been perfect; we want you to help us to enable New Zealand to play its full part in the Commonwealth's battle against apartheid (Minutes of the Extraordinary Meeting of the CGF, London, 5 May 1982).

A Constitution sub-committee was appointed to carry out two main tasks. The first task was to frame a "code of conduct" arising from the draft resolution at Marlborough House Assembly of 5 May 1982, and the second task was to consider other amendments to the constitution submitted to the body. Commenting on the development, Chief Ordia said:

I am on the revision committee, and so are many of my friends. . . . If New Zealand can for the first time come out and disagree with apartheid . . . we think we ought to give her a chance. So on that basis we agreed that we shall go to Brisbane (Interview with Chief Ordia, Lagos, 22 July 1982).

It would appear that the Nigerian delegates to the 5 May Marlborough House Assembly had a feeling of achievement and satisfaction over the outcome of the meeting. Another member of Nigeria's delegation who was from the Ministry of External Affairs remarked that

Nigeria has fought relentlessly to get member countries to agree to insert provisions in the constitution of the Commonwealth Games Federation for sanctions against any country which violates the Gleneagles agreement (Interview with Mr. James Afolabi, Director,

Political and Cultural Affairs, Ministry of External Affairs, Lagos, 29 July 1982).

This writer had another meeting with the President of the Nigeria Olympic Committee, Dr. L. Adegbite in Lagos, on 28 July 1982 on a number of points. During that interview Dr. Adegbite was optimistic that Nigeria will participate in the Brisbane Games of September/October 1982. He disclosed that "we got a go ahead endorsement from government and therefore our Olympic Committee has decided that we will go, and right now we are preparing for the Games. Certainly we will be in Brisbane".

When the XII Commonwealth Games opened in the sunshine city of Brisbane, Australia on 30 September 1982, it was a joy to members of the Games Federation and the host organizing committee to see Nigeria and other African member associations in full attendance. During the Games, the CGF at its General Assembly on 6 October 1982, among other things approved a revised draft of the code of conduct on the 1977 Gleneagles declaration, and adopted a resolution to amend its constitution accordingly. The decision to establish the code of conduct has been favourably received by many anti-apartheid bodies. The Secretary-General of the Commonwealth Mr. Shridath Ramphal:

praised the sports administrators for the stand they had taken. 'The first gold medal of the Games has been won by the sports administrators' he said, and added 'I think we now have a better chance that all countries will face up to the challenges and obligations of the Gleneagles Agreement' (Commonwealth Secretariat, Commonwealth Currents, December 1982, p. 1).

IMPLICATIONS OF THE CODE OF CONDUCT

The implications of the code of conduct is the possible imposition of sanction or suspension from the Commonwealth Games on any member country whose nationals engage in sport contests with any country, including South Africa which practices racial discrimination in sport.

It is to isolate South Africa from international sport which hopefully might serve as a countervailing force to bring about a change in the Pretoria Government's apartheid sport policy.

Among the first reactions to the resolution on the code of conduct were a number from South Africa itself. Two of the earliest reactions are indicated in the following:

Daniel Craven, South Africa's leading rugby official, yesterday described the new Commonwealth Games Federation code aimed at stopping all sporting contacts with the republic as cowardly and hypocritical. . . . In Johannesburg, Denis McIlldowie, the vice-president of the South African Olympic and National Games Association said the decision "was the worst thing to have happened to South Africa since our expulsion from the Olympic movement" (The Times [London], 8 October 1982, p. 21).

These reactions from South Africa on the resolution suggest that there is concern in that country over decisions taken by international organizations outside the country relating to her sport and race relations.

During the same week a proposed cricket tour of South Africa by a team from Sri Lanka, was cancelled by South Africa. Commenting on the reason for the action:

Joe Pamensky President of the South African Cricket Union, blamed what he called undue pressure from Sri Lankan Government on the countries' international cricketers. "We made the decision to abort the tour after the Sri Lankan Government had announced it would impound the players' passports", he explained. We have been in touch with the players and they informed us their passports had been impounded. . . . The proposed tour would have lasted from Oct. 19-Dec. 10. . . . Only this week the Commonwealth Games Federation adopted a resolution threatening suspension for any country which had sporting ties with South Africa (The Times [London], 9 October 1982, p. 16).

It may be too soon at this time to determine the outcome of the expressed concern, but whatever that might be will partly depend on the sincerity demonstrated in observing the code of conduct, and partly on steps taken by sportspeople from non-Commonwealth countries of the world.

THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU)

The OAU embraces independent States in the continent of Africa including Madagascar and other islands surrounding Africa.⁸ The Republic of South Africa is not a member of the organization mainly because of its apartheid policies. The purposes of the OAU include, among others

1. to eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa; and
2. to promote international cooperation, having due regards to the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal declaration of Human Rights (OAU Charter, 1963, Articles d and e).

In keeping with its charter, the OAU has devoted a substantial part of its time in combating racial discriminations in South Africa. In 1976, its Council of Ministers unanimously adopted resolution CM/Res 488 (xx vii), "On Sporting Links with South Africa". In part, the resolution,

1. Strongly condemns New Zealand (NZ) and all countries and international organizations that co-operate with and participate in any sporting activity with the racist regime of SA;
2. Appeals to the international Olympic Committee to bar NZ from participating in the 1976 Olympic Games in Montreal, Canada;
3. Calls upon all member States of the OAU to reconsider their participation in this year's Olympic Games in Canada if NZ participates;
4. Calls upon the international community to demonstrate once more its solidarity with Africa in this struggle against apartheid (Legum, 1977/76, p. C9).

This was the resolution which led to the boycott of the 1976 Montreal Olympics by thirty national teams from Africa, the Caribbean and the Middle East.

The OAU was a co-sponsor of the UN International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa which was held in Paris from 20-27 May 1980. This conference has already been discussed earlier under the United Nations Organization. The OAU delegates its powers on matters relating to sports to its specialized institution the Supreme Council

for Sport in Africa. A good example of the relationship between the OAU and the SCSA was demonstrated in the implementation of its 1976 Council of Ministers resolution which called for action against New Zealand because of her sport relations with South Africa. It was the SCSA which called on the African teams in Montreal for the 1976 Olympics to stage a mass boycott.

Nigeria was a party to the OAU resolution asking for actions against New Zealand. Nigeria occupies an important position in the OAU for a number of reasons. She is a foundation member, and a signatory to the charter of the Organization when it was established in 1963. She is one of the largest financial contributors for the upkeep of the organizations, as well as for the support of the liberation organizations in South Africa.

THE BOYCOTT OF THE MONTREAL OLYMPICS

The boycott of the 1976 Montreal Olympic Games by thirty national teams, including Nigeria, was in protest against New Zealand's sporting links with apartheid South Africa. It was the biggest boycott in the history of the Olympics for reasons directly related to sport matters.

Since Nigeria's independence in 1960, she has made public her opposition to South Africa's apartheid policies. It is apparent from some of the events already examined that Nigeria has been involved in the crusade against apartheid in sport for a number of years. The origin of the boycott of the 1976 Montreal Olympics has been traced to 1973. According to the President of the NOC of Nigeria, Dr. Lateef Adegbite:

. . . as far back as 1973 in Varna, Bulgaria during the Olympic Congress, we had been indicating through the rest of the Olympic family that it was not enough for South Africa to be excluded from

all these competitions . . . in fact they should not be given comfort by gaining bilaterally what they have lost multilaterally . . . they should not be compensated for by some countries maintaining sporting links with South Africa. Therefore in 1976 the OAU came into this picture politically and the decision was taken on the recommendation of the SCSA that if New Zealand did not desist from sporting links with apartheid South Africa we would take collective actions . . . (Interview with Dr. Adegbite in Lagos, 28 July 1982).

In 1973 the New Zealand Government under the Labour Party succeeded in stopping a rugby tour by the Springbok of South Africa. "The Leader of the Opposition, Mr. R.D. Muldoon, however, told his party's 1974 annual conference that if the National Party was re-elected, reciprocal sports tours with South Africa would be reintroduced" (Thompson, 1975, p. 97). In 1975 the National Party was re-elected under the leadership of Mr. Muldoon as Prime Minister. Since that year the government appears to have encouraged sporting exchanges between New Zealand and South Africa.

The NZRFU planned to resume its rugby tour of South Africa in May 1976, an Olympic year. This appears to be a fulfilment of Mr. Muldoon's promise of re-introducing reciprocal sports tours with South Africa, which he made at his party's 1974 annual conference. The reaction of Chief Abraham Ordia, Secretary General NOC of Nigeria and President, SCSA on the planned tour was expressed as follows:

. . . you will recall that at that very moment . . . there was the Soweto uprising, and the whole world appealed to the Government of New Zealand to stop the tour, the United Nations, everyone. Rather the government encouraged, aided and abetted the "All-Blacks" - New Zealand's national team to go to South Africa. It was most provocative, . . . and the OAU had to take an action . . . (Interview with Chief Ordia in Lagos, 22 July 1982).

As a result of the planned tour of South Africa by the "All-Blacks" New Zealand national team in an Olympic year, "the threat of a boycott was again raised, not only by the African countries but by the Eastern European and Caribbean countries as well . . . the United Nations anti-

apartheid seminar in Havana urged a boycott if the rugby tour took place" (Espy, 1981, p. 157).

The OAU Summit Conference which was held in Port Louis, Mauritius decided to ask the SCSA to withdraw the African national teams from the Montreal Olympics if New Zealand was not suspended from the Games by the IOC. According to Chief Ordia, ". . .

. . . the OAU acted properly. Unfortunately I got these instructions in Montreal, one-and-a-half days before the opening ceremony. . . . But we went out to do our utmost to ensure that the instructions were carried out. . . (Interview with Chief Ordia in Lagos, 22 July 1982).

The implementation of those instructions has been described as follows:

Forty-eight hours before the opening of the Games fifteen African countries sent Killanin an ultimatum - send New Zealand packing or they would boycott. . . . The IOC protested that it had nothing to do with the question of a rugby tour. . . . The IOC did not give in to the African demands and thirty countries boycotted (Espy, 1981, pp. 157-158).

As soon as it became known that the IOC would not suspend New Zealand from the Games, the SCSA members announced that the African national teams were boycotting the Games. It was the responsibility of each boycotting country to arrange for the withdrawal of its team. In the case of Nigeria, it was reported that,

. . . Nigeria's withdrawal had been announced in Lagos. The foreign news agency was credited with the story. While eager members of the world press were waiting for the truth from the leaders, the Nigerian Airways jet left London empty, and was bound for Mirabel Airport, Montreal, Canada. . . . Nigeria's team leaders had begun to inform the competitors that they were returning home. . . . Messages were sent out to all locations - the Games village, the International Youth Camp, hotels, motels, private homes and other places where members of the Nigerian contingent were. . . . At precisely 5:03 p.m. Montreal time, the contingent leader, Major General Olutoye read his prepared statement to a world press briefing, and confirmed that Nigeria had withdrawn from the Games. At about 7 p.m., the first groups and individuals were arriving into Mirabel Airport. . . . After waiting for nearly three hours for members who could not be reached in good time, the plane took off via London for Lagos, Nigeria (Daily Times [Lagos], 20 July 1976, p. 29).

The Head of State Lt. General Obasanjo personally welcomed the contingent back to Nigeria. He reiterated the reason for the withdrawal from the Montreal Games, and assured the Olympic group that it did not mean a withdrawal from the Olympic movement.

Following the withdrawal from the Games the National Sports Commission (NSC) in consultation with Nigeria's NOC arranged for alternative competitions to compensate the athletes. Some of the programmes at that point included a mini sports festival in which top teams within Lagos metropolis participated. A playing tour of China was also arranged for the soccer team. A number of programmes were planned by the respective national amateur sport associations to ensure that their athletes were favourably motivated with respect to subsequent international competitions in the future.

The reactions to the boycott of the Montreal Olympics in Nigeria, and the effects it might have had on the country's sports environment will be examined along with the withdrawal of Nigeria from the 1978 Commonwealth Games in a latter part of this chapter. This is mainly due to the fact that both Games are generally classified together by Nigerians as the top two multi-events international Games outside Africa.

NIGERIA'S CONTINGENT TO THE MONTREAL OLYMPICS

Nigeria's official contingent to the Montreal Olympics numbered 110, made up as follows:

Track and Field Athletes (Men and Women)	20
Track and Field Officials	4
Boxing Competitors	7
Boxing Officials	3
Swimming Competitor	1

Swimming Official	1
Soccer Players	17
Soccer Officials	4
Technical Officials	4
NOC Representatives	5
Headquarters Officials	6
Congressmen	15
Youths for Youth Camp.	21
Journalists	2

The size of the official team represented, at that time, the largest Nigeria has ever entered for an Olympic Games. The competitors were some of the finest and best prepared athletes the country had ever entered for an international sporting engagement.

Soccer:

The national soccer team, the "Green Eagles", played near to the top of their form during the year. After winning its elimination matches, it beat Morocco at home and away to qualify for the Olympics. The team then went on a special playing tour of West Germany and Yugoslavia in readiness for the Olympics. The performance of the Green Eagles team in its continental playing tour was reported to be remarkable, because they won three of the matches played, drew two and lost none. The Green Eagles defeated Canada in the pre-Olympic match in Montreal.

Boxing:

Forty boxers were shortlisted following inter-state and national competitions. They were sent to Afuze camp in Mid-West state, for an intensive coaching session for two weeks. The session was followed by an elimination trial tournament held in the capital of the State, Benin

City to select 22 boxers. Two stages of international warm-up tours were arranged. The first with the 22 boxers toured Bulgaria and Rumania, after which the best 11 boxers were picked. The second stage of the warm-up tour included the 11 boxers in a trip to California in the USA, from which the seven athletes selected travelled to Montreal, Canada in readiness for the Olympics. Nigeria had good reason to hope that these young men would win a medal in boxing because of their high quality and the intensity of the preparations. The two coaches were a Nigerian, Hogan Bassey, a former world featherweight champion, and an American, Archie Moore, a one-time famous boxing champion in the United States. Nigeria had previously won a bronze medal each in the 1964 and 1972 Olympics.

Track and Field:

The track and field team included some athletes who had vowed to win Olympic medals after years of dedicated preparations. Twenty-nine athletes, following a number of national championships in Nigeria among domestic and US groomed sportsmen were shortlisted. The first 29 went on a competition tour of East Africa after which they returned to Nigeria for camping at the University at Ife facilities. The two coaches for the Games were, George Dibia a dedicated Nigerian coach, and Lee Evans, the American 400 metres Olympic gold medalist in 1968 and world record holder. Table II, which follows, is an example of the certified performances of some of the athletes entered for the Games. They give us the times and distances with those of the medal winners in the same events at the 1976 Montreal Olympics.

The boycott of the 1976 Montreal Olympics by Nigeria is a demonstration, once again, of her determination to isolate South Africa from international sports because of her apartheid sport policy. The

TABLE II

COMPARISON OF SOME 1976 OLYMPIC RESULTS WITH NIGERIA'S PRE-1976 OLYMPICS PERFORMANCES

Montreal Olympics 1976 Results			Nigeria's Certified Performances Pre-1976 Olympics		
	Country	Performance	Event and Name	Performance	Date
<u>110 M. Hurdles (Men)</u>					
1. G. Drut	France	13.30 s	G. Obasogie	13.55 sec. at the Big 8 Meet, Nebraska, USA (placed 1st)	1976
2. A. Casanas	Cuba	13.33 s			
3. W. Davenport	USA	13.38 s			
				13.60 sec. Montreal pre-Games (placed 2nd)	1976
				13.60 s	15.5.76
<u>Long Jump (Men)</u>					
1. A. Robinson	USA	8.35 m	C. Ehizuelem	8.20 m	5.6.75
2. R. Williams	USA	8.11 m			
3. F. Wartenberg	E. Germany	8.02 m			
<u>Long Jump (Women)</u>					
1. A. Voigt	E. Germany	6.72 m	M. Oshikoya	6.61 CG Christchurch, New Zealand	1974
2. K. McMillan	USA	6.66 m			
3. I. Alfeeva	USSR	6.60 m			

Tyler, Martin and Soar, Phil (eds.), The History of the Olympics, New York City: Galahad Books, 1980.

Spallek, Edgar (ed.), Montreal, The Pictorial Record of the 1976 Olympic Games. Sport Canada Publication Ltd., 1976.

(1) Abmayr, Kramer, Pinaud (eds.), Track & Field Best Performances Ghana-Nigeria-Uganda. Heidelberg: Sportinstitut University Heidelberg, 1977.

(2) Official Souvenir Programme 4th National Sports Festival (Ibadan, Aug. 30-Sept. 9, 1979).

(3) Obasogie, Gowin's diary and Questionnaire response.

withdrawal of the country was first announced by its government in Lagos, before the Chef-de-Mission of her Olympic contingent could address a world press in Montreal on the country's decision to withdraw from the Games. This suggests an expression by the government that its decision was a political one in accordance with its foreign policy principles. The evacuation of the 110-strong country's official contingent from Montreal was with military dispatch consistent with the post-1975 government style of reaction to foreign policy issues. It would, therefore, appear that the government of Nigeria will use political means to press for a change in the apartheid sport policy of South Africa.

NIGERIA'S WITHDRAWAL FROM THE 1978 EDMONTON COMMONWEALTH GAMES

During the 1978 Edmonton Commonwealth Games, Nigeria was the only Commonwealth Games member Association which withdrew from the Games after accepting the invitation to participate. In order to fully appreciate some of the main reasons for the decision to withdraw, the background to two events relevant to the matter will be examined. The first was Nigeria's support for Edmonton's bid for the 1978 Games; the second was the role of Nigeria in some anti-apartheid actions between 1976 and 1978.

NIGERIA'S SUPPORT FOR EDMONTON'S BID FOR THE 1978 GAMES

The selection of the host city for the 1978 Commonwealth Games by the Federation was concluded in Munich on 24 August 1972. The City of Leeds, England and the City of Edmonton, Canada competed for the bid. Many months prior to the selection day each of the two contesting cities travelled to some member Commonwealth countries to solicit their votes in Munich. Nigeria was the first African country visited by Dr. Ivor

Dent, Edmonton City Mayor, who led the campaign of "Getting the Games". During his two day visit to Lagos, in June 1972, he was satisfied that Edmonton's bid would be supported by Nigeria's Commonwealth Games Association. In addition, it became known to him that Chief Abraham Ordia, the Secretary General NOC and the President SCSA, would win the support of other member African Commonwealth Games Associations for Edmonton's bid.

. . . after my visit . . . on the previous day Mr. Ordio [sic] had informed me that he, personally, was now in favour of Edmonton. . . . He persuaded me to remain in Lagos and nail down Nigeria's vote. . . . To win the most powerful of the black African nations was a better tactic. It would give him a free hand to work on our behalf, and the prestige of having Nigerian support would greatly help our chances with smaller African nations. This advice, obtained from . . . Col. Jack Davies, proved extremely valid in the end. . . . He [Abraham Ordia] did dictate several letters of introduction to other sports personalities whom I was to meet on subsequent stops [in Africa]. These proved invaluable. When attempting to influence a decision, it is absolutely necessary to know who the real decision makers are. . . . Abraham Ordio [sic] assisted in the process of selecting several of the real decision-makers in Africa (Dent, 1977, pp. 131-134).

On 23 August 1972, the night before the selection of the host city, the Canadian Government arranged a reception to which all member countries were invited. The reception was at the Arabella Hotel in Munich, where some of the Canadian delegation were staying. There was a presentation by the "Alberta All-Girls" marching club. After their presentation,

. . . as they marched out, flags and banners still waving, still playing magnificently, Abraham Ordio [sic] rushed up to me, grabbed me about the waist, hoisted me off the floor in a gleeful bear hug and shouted, "Ivor, you've done it! Now the Africans really know you want to win - and win you will tomorrow" (Dent, 1977, p. 243).

The result of the voting the next day was a clear victory - Edmonton 34, Leeds, 10. The African votes went to Edmonton.

Considering the support given by the Nigerian, Chief Ordia, with respect to Edmonton's bid for the 1978 Games, the reasons for

Nigeria's withdrawal from that same Games need to be examined. It will be recalled that during the 1976 Montreal Olympics Nigeria joined other African countries to boycott that Games. The reason was given as the refusal of the IOC to suspend New Zealand from the Games because of that country's sporting links with South Africa. According to Dr. Ivor Dent, he was familiar with that incident and he had read widely on that subject, but had nowhere seen an explanation for that action from the African vantage point. His visit to Nigeria afforded him the opportunity to have an insight into how Chief Ordia perceived the South African apartheid sport policy. In an interview with this writer in Edmonton, on 19 January 1983, Dr. Dent disclosed that during his brief stop in Lagos Chief Ordia predicted that African nations might withdraw from the Edmonton Games if nothing was done to persuade the government of New Zealand to change its open support for sporting links with South Africa. A further explanation by Ordia was stated as follows:

Refusal on the basis of skin colour to allow free competitions to select members of international teams is a political decision. It is not made by sports bodies, but by the government of South Africa. That country practices political intrusion into sport. And any country competing with South Africa on the sports fields is seen by the black African nations as being unwilling itself to keep politics out of sport. . . (Dent, 1977, p. 140).

A part of the basis for Nigeria's withdrawal from the Edmonton Games may be traced to Chief Ordia's explanation. Members of the Nigeria's NOC which is also responsible for the Commonwealth Games matters, who voted in support of Edmonton's bid to host the 1978 Games are sportsmen. The decision to withdraw Nigeria from that Games was purely a political decision taken by the government, and not by the sports administrators. Some of the probable reasons for the government's decision will be examined in the next section.

NIGERIA'S ROLE IN SOME ANTI-APARTHEID ACTIONS BETWEEN 1976 AND 1978

Between 1976 and 1978 a number of anti-apartheid actions were taken by different international bodies in which Nigeria played some significant roles. Some of the actions have been examined under the appropriate sections earlier; they will therefore be examined at this point for the purpose of identifying the probable reasons for the withdrawal action from the Edmonton Games of 1978 taken by the Nigerian government.

1976: In 1976 thirty national teams boycotted the Montreal Olympics. The main reason for this action was that at that particular time, the New Zealand 'All-Blacks' rugby team was touring South Africa. The tour was considered a violation of a number of UN resolutions which requested all States and organizations to suspend sporting exchanges with the racist regime in South Africa. The resolutions which have been earlier mentioned included No. 2396 (XXIII) section 12 of 1968; No. 2671 (XXV) section 8 of 1970; No. 2275 D (XXVI) of 1971; No. 2923 E (XXVII) section 15e of 1972; No. 3151 G (XXVIII) section 11a of 1973 and No. 3411 E (XXX) of 1975. This was one of the considerations at the OAU summit which called for a boycott of the Montreal Olympics if the IOC failed to suspend New Zealand from those Games. On the basis of this condition, it would appear that Nigeria maintained that New Zealand had to be suspended from international competitions if her nationals continue sporting exchanges with South Africa without being checked by the New Zealand government. Under such circumstances the post-1975 military government of Nigeria, which was reputed for uncompromising actions against racism and apartheid, decided that Nigeria would not compete against New Zealand, hence the withdrawal from the Edmonton Games.

1977: Two important events took place in 1977 which were directed against apartheid policy in South Africa's sport. The first was the June Gleneagles Declaration of the Commonwealth Heads of Government. In the declaration the CHG

. . . accepted it as the urgent duty of each of their Governments vigorously to combat the evil of apartheid by withholding any form of support for and by taking every practical step to discourage . . . competition by their nationals with sporting organizations, on the basis of race, colour or ethnic origin.

The second was the "Lagos Declaration for Action against Apartheid" in August. Section III 28 of the Declaration states that "The Conference urges States, and international and national bodies, to take all appropriate steps within their jurisdiction to bring about the termination of all sporting contacts with South Africa". It would appear that in the opinion of the Nigerian government, if sporting links between South Africa and New Zealand is maintained, the latter's government had not fulfilled its obligations as required by the Gleneagles Agreement. In the case of the Lagos Declaration, the Nigerian government, as the host of the World Conference in which the declaration was made, might have considered it a duty to demonstrate that it observed the terms of the declaration. Above all, the foreign policy objectives of Nigeria, among other things, requires it to "combat racial discrimination in all its manifestations". The foregoing considerations must have been instrumental in the government decision to withdraw Nigeria from the 1978 Edmonton Commonwealth Games.

HOW DID THE WITHDRAWAL OF NIGERIA FROM THE 1978 COMMONWEALTH GAMES HAPPEN?

Nigeria entered to participate in two international Games in 1978 namely, the 3rd All-Africa Games (3AG), Algiers, Algeria, 13 to 28 July;

and the XIth Commonwealth Games (XICG), Edmonton, Canada, 3 to 12 August. The two events were multi-sports Games. The 3AG featured twelve sports specifically, athletics, basketball, boxing, cycling, football, handball, judo, lawn tennis, swimming, table tennis, volleyball and wrestling. The XICG provided a stage for ten sports which included athletics, badminton, boxing, cycling, gymnastics, lawnbowls, shooting, swimming, weightlifting and wrestling. Five of the sports were common to both Games, these being: athletics, boxing, cycling, swimming and wrestling. Although Nigeria entered and competed in all the twelve sports slated for the 3AG, she registered participants in five sports: athletics, boxing, cycling, swimming and wrestling at the XICG.

It was felt that the 3AG in Algiers, would in a way serve as a pre-Commonwealth Games competitions for the athletes in the five events in which Nigeria entered competitors for the Edmonton Games. The Nigerian contingent for the 1978 Commonwealth Games was to procede directly from Algiers to Edmonton at the end of the 3AG. This writer was in the contingent as an official from Kwara State.

The competitions in Algiers were keen and the athletes who were entered for the XICG looked forward to the Edmonton Games, particularly some of the athletes who were among the 1976 Olympics team which was withdrawn from the Montreal Games. At 9:00 a.m. local Algiers time on 28 July 1978, the last day of the 3AG, a special meeting was held to conclude the arrangements for departure to Edmonton the next day 29 July 1978. The meeting was attended by selected officials in the Nigerian contingent which included this writer, one official from the Canadian Embassy in Algiers, and two Air Canada officials from Edmonton, Messrs. J.R. McNeil and A. (Kees) Roetman. The meeting ended at about 10:30 o'clock in the morning (10:30 a.m.) with what appeared to be a confirmation

of Nigeria's commitment to travel to Edmonton the next day in the charter Air Canada jet provided for the contingents from all the African Commonwealth countries in Algiers. Within thirty minutes of the end of that important meeting, the Nigerian Head of State's Presidential jet flew into Algiers with the newly assigned Federal Commissioner for Labour, Youth and Sport, Mr. S.O. William , aboard. His re-assignment was as a result of Federal cabinet adjustments which were announced in Lagos during the week of the Algiers Games. Mr. William had previously been the Commissioner for Communications, a post he had held since the inception of the 1975 administration. At first members of the Nigerian contingent were excited on learning about Mr. William's new assignment. He was known to be a very keen sportsman and indeed had captained the Nigerian team to the 1954 British Commonwealth Games in Vancouver, Canada, when he was the winner of a bronze medal in the long jump event. He had also been the Chairman of the Amateur Athletic Association (AAA) of Nigeria for many years until his appointment as Federal Commissioner and member of the Federal Executive Council (FEC) in 1975. On his arrival in Algiers at about 11:00 a.m. of 28 July 1978 he summoned a press conference for 3 o'clock in the afternoon (3:00 p.m.) (4:00 p.m. Lagos time) of the same day. He indicated that the Nigerian Head of State would address the World Press in Lagos simultaneous with his Algiers' conference on the same topic.

Between 11:00 a.m. and 3:00 p.m. speculations and anxieties among the contingent were rampant. By the set time, the conference hall in Algiers was full to capacity with many of the foreign journalists who were covering the 3AG in attendance. This writer was himself present at the conference venue. When the Federal Commissioner emerged at 3:00 p.m. he read the contents of a prepared address titled "Statement by the

Federal Military Government on Participation at this Year's Commonwealth Games at Edmonton, Canada".⁹ The statement traced the history of the Gleneagles Agreement stressing that "the declaration was necessitated by New Zealand's sporting link with South Africa". It added among other points the following:

Regrettably, however, New Zealand has not had a change of heart. That Government's sole response to the Gleneagles declaration was to make the document available to her National Sporting Association. Meanwhile, New Zealanders travel to South Africa as individuals and re-grouped there as a team. The Government of New Zealand openly defends this method of circumvention. . . . All attempts to raise the issue at the meeting of the Commonwealth Games Federation held in London in September 1977 were thwarted by New Zealand. The philosophy that sports and politics should not mix is a hypocritical one. . . . Nigeria, along with most African countries and their allies, boycotted the 1976 Olympic Games as a mark of protest against New Zealand's sporting links [with South Africa]. New Zealand has not been persuaded, either by that action or by the Gleneagles declaration, to review her relations with Pretoria. It would be illogical in the extreme, therefore, if Nigeria were now to participate at the Commonwealth Games, simply because these are to be held under the auspices of the Commonwealth, when the reasons for her boycotting the Olympic Games remains unchanged. Nigeria has decided, therefore, not to participate in the Edmonton Games.

Thus was announced the withdrawal of Nigeria from the 1978 Edmonton Commonwealth Games. Following the closing ceremony of the 3AG which took place in the evening of that same day, 28 July 1978, the contingent subsequently returned to Nigeria by charter flight on Saturday 29 July 1978.

The withdrawal of Nigeria from the Edmonton Commonwealth Games meant a loss to some members of the contingent, particularly the athletes who would have competed in the Edmonton Games. In previous Commonwealth Games Nigeria has consistently won medals in boxing. It is therefore believed that she would have maintained her winning tradition in that sport. Since the performance in boxing cannot be measured in terms of time, and distances, it is not possible to compare the results of the 1978 XICG with Nigeria's pre-1978 XICG performance. Similarly Nigeria

might have won medals in wrestling. For the purpose of assessing what appear to be the prospects for medals in track and field events had Nigeria competed at the 1978 Edmonton Commonwealth Games, Tables III and IV are presented for examination.

REACTION TO THE BOYCOTT OF THE 1976 MONTREAL OLYMPICS AND THE
WITHDRAWAL FROM THE 1978 EDMONTON COMMONWEALTH GAMES

The immediate reactions of the athletes on the occasion of the boycott of the 1976 Montreal Olympics and the withdrawal from the 1978 Edmonton Games have a number of things in common. The feelings of shock, disappointment, frustration, and personal loss are some of the major kinds of expressions. Some of these reactions are evident in the statements made by a number of the athletes during interviews with them, which are stated below:

Olympic Games have always been a goal in my athletic career and weekly through hard work, I was in shape to win a medal in 1976 but 48 hours to the opening ceremony, I was withdrawn. The moment the news came, I was shocked and for 3 days I was a different person. I was misplacing things. I was not thinking right. It took me a lot to get out of that . . . news. My family were not happy. That was a time they had proposed to see me compete at my best (Interview with G. Obasogie, in Lagos 20 July 1982).

Obasogie was 22 years old in 1976, a student at the University of Missouri, St. Louis in the USA. He had won the USA Big 8 Meet championship of 1976 in the 110 metres high hurdles in Nebraska in a time of 13.55 secs. He was the Nigerian and African champion in that event from 1974 to 1981. Another athlete responded that:

The withdrawal of the Nigerian contingent from the Montreal Olympic Games especially when it was barely two days to the official opening ceremony has up till today the rudest shock I have ever had as an athlete. . . . All hopes of hitting athletic limelight became suddenly dashed by . . . some government functionaries who failed to take cognisance of what psychological effect this might have on athletes who have spent restless days struggling to bring glories to their fatherland - Nigeria . . . the bond of friendship which the Games generated

TABLE III

COMPARISON OF 1978 COMMONWEALTH GAMES RESULTS WITH NIGERIA'S PRE-1978
COMMONWEALTH GAMES PERFORMANCES (MEN)

XI Commonwealth Games Results, 1978			NIGERIA'S Certified Performances pre-XI Commonwealth Games		
Event and Name	Country	Performance	Event and Name	Performance	Year
<u>110 M Hurdles</u>					
Price, Berwyn	Wales	13.70 s	G. Obasogie	13.60 s	1976
Binnigton, Max	Australia	13.73 s			
Parr, Warren	Australia	13.73 s			
<u>400 M</u>					
Mitchell, R. Charles	Australia	46.34 s	F. Imadiyi	45.46 s	1977
Coombs, Joseph	Tri./Tob.	46.54 s			
Bogne, Glenn Pat	Canada	46.63 s			
<u>Long Jump</u>					
Mitchell, R.	England	8.06 m	C. Ehizuelem	8.20 m	1975
Commons, Christopher	Australia	8.04 m			
Suresh, Babu	India	7.94 m			
<u>Triple Jump</u>					
Connor, Keith	England	17.21 m	C. Ehizuelem	16.81 m	1977
Campbell, Ian B.	Australia	16.93 m			
Moore, Ashton L.	England	16.69 m			
<u>4 x 100 M</u>					
Scotland	Scotland	39.24 s	National Team	38.26 s	1978
Tri./Tob.	Tri./Tob.	39.29 s	(H. Adio, P. Okodogbe, R. Bazumu, E. Ofili, S. Oyeledun)		
Jamaica	Jamaica	39.33 s			
<u>4 x 400 M</u>					
Kenya	Kenya	3.03.54	National Team	3.02.2	1976
	Australia	3.04.00	(N. Udo, F. Imadiyi, R. Peters, T. Ogunjobi)		
	Canada	3.04.23			

(Official Pictorial Record of the XI
Commonwealth Games, Edmonton, 1978)

(Official Souvenir Programme 4th National Sports
Festival, Ibadan, Aug. 30-Sept. 9, 1979)

TABLE IV

COMPARISON OF 1978 XI COMMONWEALTH GAMES RESULTS WITH NIGERIA'S PRE-1978
COMMONWEALTH GAMES PERFORMANCES (WOMEN)

XI Commonwealth Games Results, 1978 Women			NIGERIA Women	
Event and Name	Country	Performance	Event and Name	Performance Date
<u>Long Jump</u>				
1. Reeve, Susas D.	England	6.59 m	M. Oshikoya	6.61 m 1974
2. Hooker, Erica	Australia	6.58 m		
3. Griffith, Maria	Guyana	6.52 m		
<u>4 x 100 metres</u>				
	England	43.70 s	National Team	44.50 s 1978
	Canada	44.26 s	(U. Uka, R. Uba,	
	Australia	44.78 s	O. Nsenu, M. Fasua)	
<u>Pentathlon</u>				
1. Jones-Konahowski, Diane	Canada	4768	M. Oshikoya	4255 1978
2. Mapstone, Susan	England	4222		
3. Wray, Yvette Julie	England	4211		

(Official Pictorial Record of the XI Commonwealth Games, Edmonton, 1978)

(Official Souvenir Programme 4th National Sports Festival, Ibadan, August 30-Sept. 9, 1979
Agbogun, J.B. Nigeria at the Commonwealth Games, Ilorin: Kwara State Printing & Publishing Corporation, 1975)

between us and other nationals was committed to a premature death with our unexpected withdrawal. Our foreign friends who could not hold it, shed tears for an acquaintance which was not allowed to mature . . . (Interview with H. Adio, in Ilorin 14 July 1982).

Adio was 21 years old in 1976, a graduate in Mass Communication from the University of Lagos. He was one of the two best sprinters in the 100 m and 200 m events in Nigeria. His personal best time before the Montreal Games include 10.30 secs. in the 100 metres. Adio was very determined to improve his previous performance at the Montreal Olympics. He did not have the opportunity to do so. Among other things Adio was a constant member of the 4 x 100 relay teams from 1976 to 1980.

Obasogie, the 100 m high hurdler described his experience on the occasion of the withdrawal from the Edmonton Commonwealth Games, 1978 as follows:

It was like thunder striking in the camp. We asked "why should this be again?" We are victimized again, the second time. Most of us on the 1976 Olympic team were also in the proposed 1978 Commonwealth Games team, so twice in a row really hurts (Interview with Obasogie in Lagos, 20 July 1982).

The athletes were not the only people whose reactions appear to be negative about the boycott actions. One of such expressions was given as follows:

In the two Games in Canada we [Nigeria] have withdrawn, I personally as an IOC member, I don't think I like our withdrawal. I do not wholly agree with our withdrawal from Montreal Games. I look at it as an IOC member, I look at it from the point of view of the athletes themselves. The athletes were well prepared, and in fact, Nigeria had every hope of winning two medals at least. One of the girls was very hopeful . . . that withdrawal has knocked her out completely; and a few athletes too have been knocked out by that withdrawal. They have never been able to do anything since. . . . If we had planned our withdrawal right from the start and kept to it, it would be a different matter . . . (Interview with Sir A. Ademola, the first black African IOC member, in Lagos, 26 July 1982).

Comments on the boycotts were not limited to the athletes who actually experienced the actions and to sports administrators who were directly involved in the exercise of withdrawal. There were comments by some

University professors and news media executives who have followed the events of the boycotts with keen interest. Extracts from their observations are presented below:

I would say that I do not agree with our withdrawal from Montreal Olympics . . . we had not behaved maturely because . . . if we had . . . we would not go that far before withdrawing. For us to go to Canada, and to pay our fares back to Nigeria with all the preparations that we had made, showed that we behaved immaturely. Manpowerwise, we had wasted our manpower. Financially we had wasted our money; potentially we had wasted our potentiality . . . (Interview with Professor J.A. Adededeji, in Ibadan, 31 July 1982).

Professor Adededeji is the head of Physical and Health Education Department, University of Ibadan. He has been interested in the development of sports in Nigeria at all levels. Another professor also spoke of the economic loss of the withdrawal. He felt that Nigeria should have competed in events in which New Zealand was not entered. Among other points he stated "Nigeria . . . qualified to play soccer in Montreal Olympics, while New Zealand did not. Why should we withdraw from such event?" (Interview with Dr. J.C. Omoruan, Lagos, 23 July 1982). Dr. Omoruan is the head of Physical and Health Education Department, University of Lagos. He was the national Chairman of Nigeria Amateur Volleyball Association (NAVA). He was himself in Montreal as a member of the Nigerian contingent. He was to attend an international congress of the volleyball federation.

A news media executive made remarks which included the following:

My own opinion on this particular issue will be influenced by what I may call domestic politics. . . . Africa is the centre piece of Nigerian foreign policy, and in doing this Nigeria considers first and foremost the interest of Africa and . . . Nigeria is in the forefront in the fight against apartheid and racism. . . . I think that we can use sport as a factor to suppress apartheid and racism. But as sport is also politics, therefore with countries taking this kind of stand, one has to appreciate their predicament because to boycott or not to boycott has always been a continental decision. So because of the leadership role of Nigeria in Africa . . . it will not even be advisable for her to back out of a continental decision of the OAU (Interview with Mr. Yahaya Sanni,⁹ Ilorin, 15 July 1982).

The reactions reflected in the foregoing paragraphs may be classified under two broad categories. First, those motivated by sport and economic considerations, and second, those motivated by political considerations. Each of these positions has its merits. For the purpose of this study it is desirable to examine the two considerations in approaching the issue from the position of Nigeria. It will be necessary to examine the other actions taken by Nigeria relating to the apartheid sport of South Africa, and also to consider the effect of all these actions on the sport environment of Nigeria before a balanced conclusion is drawn.

OTHER ACTIONS TAKEN BY NIGERIA RELATING TO THE APARTHEID POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA'S SPORT

The boycott actions and protests by Nigeria for reasons relating to South Africa's apartheid sport were not limited to big events such as the Olympics and the Commonwealth Games. The country's opposition to the issue has been expressed within other international and domestic sport events and during some international conferences of some of the sport bodies. Incidents during some selected events are presented as illustrations.

Athletics (Track and Field):

The first time that Nigerian athletes were involved in a boycott action for reasons relating to the South African apartheid issue was in 1967. On that occasion some Nigerian athletes who had competed as members of a selected British Commonwealth team against the US side in Los Angeles arrived in England where they were to participate in the London Open Track and Field Championships. The athletes were accompanied by two officials, Awoture Eleyae, the Coach, and Abraham Ordia, the

Manager. When the team discovered that South African athletes were registered to participate in the competition, they informed the Nigeria High Commissioner about the situation. In an interview with Dr. Eleyae in Lagos, on 27 July 1982, he discussed the incident which occurred on that occasion. Dr. Eleyae disclosed that the team had to stay in London for one week during which time the High Commissioner opened communication with Lagos to determine appropriate action if the South African competitors were to take part in championships. In the end the Nigerian team which had prepared to make an impression at the London events had to withdraw without having participated in the competitions.

Badminton:

As a member of the International Badminton Federation (IBF), Nigeria participates in the Federation's activities including its annual general meetings. At the 1976 annual general meeting of the IBF a motion was moved by Czechoslovakia for the expulsion of South Africa. When the motion was rejected, Nigeria walked out of the meeting in protest against the retention of South Africa as a member. A newspaper report of the incident stated that:

The motion proposed by Czechoslovakia was defeated by 42 votes against 35 for with three abstentions during the meeting. . . . The Nigerian delegates Dr. Adedapo A. Tejuoso and Miss M. Osayinwen stood and declared briefly with great dignity that they were walking out in protest against the vote (The Nigeria Standard, JOS, 4 June 1976, p. 1).

Table Tennis:

Table tennis is a very popular sport in Nigeria. Its players have had considerable success at international competitions. In 1971 Nigeria's team competed successfully at the English Open Table Tennis Championship in Brighton, England. During the same year she competed at the 1st Asian-African Invitational Championship in Peking, China. Since that year

Nigeria has entered players every year in most international tournaments. Despite this record, Nigeria boycotted the World Table Tennis Championships in Birmingham, England, in 1977, when it was discovered that South Africa was invited to the tournaments.

Lawn Tennis:

Nigeria withdrew from the 1980 Davis Cup in Israel on the grounds that the host country supported apartheid South Africa.

NIGERIA AT THE 1981 CONFERENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY SPORT FEDERATION (FISU)

As a member of FISU, Nigeria's delegate to the July 1981 General Assembly of FISU at Bucharest made clear the anti-South African apartheid sport policy of his country. When the application of New Zealand to join the FISU came up in the agenda,

FATILE (NIG) [Nigeria] . . . recalls the existing relations of New Zealand with the South Africa regime which supports apartheid. . . . MONTHEITH (NZL) [New Zealand] . . . explains that he has been asked to give an assurance about his organization's position regarding sporting contact with South Africa. "I can give this assembly an assurance that no team or individuals sponsored by my organization will have any sporting contact with South Africa so long as the system of apartheid remains in South Africa . . . (Minutes of FISU General Assembly, Bucharest 1981, pp. 11-12).

After the declaration by the New Zealand's delegate, his association was formally admitted as a member of FISU. As a matter of fact the New Zealand University Students' Association is a member of Halt All Racists Tour (HART), an anti-apartheid movement in New Zealand. The remarks made by the Nigerian delegate was in keeping with his government's anti-apartheid sport policy.

PROTEST AGAINST THE PLAYING TOUR OF THE ORIENT FOOTBALL
(SOCCER) CLUB OF ENGLAND

In April 1980, the Orient Football Club of England signed a contract with the Philip Morris Company of Nigeria for a three-match playing tour of Nigeria. The Company processed the invitation of the international club through the Nigeria Football Association (NFA) as required by the regulations of the National Sports Commission (NSC). Consequently the NFA and the Company held a joint press conference about the proposed playing tour of the English team. At this conference the touring schedule of the Orient Football Club was made public. Following this announcement several national news media alerted the Nigerian public that if the English club was allowed to play football in Nigeria, it would be a violation of the resolution of the SCSA passed in 1979 which states that:

All Member State [of the SCSA] should stop having bilateral sporting links with all countries having sporting relations with South Africa, including athletes and sports officials of their countries irrespective of their rank (SCSA Resolution No. 10/9GA/79, 1979, section 3).

The English club arrived in Nigeria in the midst of the press controversy and therefore it could not commence playing immediately. The Federal Minister for Youth, Sports and Culture, Mr. Paulinus Amadike, summoned both the NSC and the NFA for questioning. The NFA pleaded that it was not aware of the content of the SCSA resolution. However, after a critical review of the matter it was confirmed that the Orient Football Club of England had maintained a reputation for non-racial practices, and that two Nigerians were actually on its touring team. In the end, it was the intervention of the President of Nigeria which allowed the playing tour to proceed. In this instance both the official stand of Britain against apartheid sport, and the non-racial record of the club had been key

factors which tempered the public anti-apartheid in sport demonstrations that would have been organized to prevent any of the scheduled games.

The foregoing examples of other anti-apartheid actions confirm that the expressions of opposition to South Africa's racial sport policy have not been limited to the Olympics and the Commonwealth Games. They have been demonstrated on other occasions including conferences and meetings of international sports bodies, and scheduled times for international sport competitions.

SUMMARY

The actions of Nigeria relating to apartheid sport policy in South Africa are examined under two main groups. First, Nigeria's actions manifested through her membership of a number of international organizations which took decisive steps against South Africa's racial sport policy. Some of these bodies include the IOC, the SCSA, the UN, the Commonwealth, the CGF, the OAU and some IFs. Second, some actions taken by Nigeria on the issue relating to her independent role.

IOC and SCSA

In May 1966, in Tehran, at the joint meeting of the IOC executive and delegates of NOCs, Nigeria led 14 African NOCs to ask that South Africa be expelled from the Olympic movement and International Federations of sport unless she complied fully with the Olympic charter. In 1968 the SCSA resolved that its 32 member countries including Nigeria will boycott the Mexico Olympics if South Africa was allowed to compete. The IOC eventually barred South Africa from that year's Mexico Olympics. In May 1970, during the IOC meeting in Amsterdam, Abraham Ordia, Secretary General, NOC of Nigeria and President SCSA presented an 8-points charges against SANOC asking for its expulsion from the IOC. At that

same meeting Sir Ademola, a Nigerian, the first black African member of the IOC, moved the motion which resulted in the expulsion of South Africa from the IOC. The SCSA under its President Chief Abraham Ordia for more than 15 years has continued its fight against apartheid sport of South Africa through a number of other means, and organizations up to the present.

The United Nations

Nigeria voted in support of all resolutions passed between 1968 and 1982 by UN General Assembly for sanctions against South Africa pressing her to change its apartheid sport policy. Between 1970 and the present, among other positions, Nigeria has retained the chairmanship of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid most of the years. She has been instrumental in her capacity as the Committee's chairman, to the drafting of many resolutions and actions taken by the General Assembly against South Africa's apartheid sport policy. In August 1977 Nigeria hosted the World Conference for Action against Apartheid organized by the UN in collaboration with the OAU. Nigeria's Head of State, Lt. General Olusegun Obasanjo gave the keynote address on that occasion titled "No Compromise with Apartheid". The President of the conference was the Nigerian Commissioner for External Affairs, Brigadier Joseph N. Garba. He proposed "The Lagos Declaration for Action against Apartheid", which was adopted on that occasion. In December 1977 the General Assembly proclaimed the International Declaration against Apartheid in sports, which was intended to isolate any country which practices apartheid until it changes. In 1979, Nigeria was appointed a member of the UN Ad Hoc Committee set up to draft the "International Convention against Apartheid in Sports". On 3 September 1980 the Ad Hoc Committee held consultations with Mr. Ordia.

In 1980 the UN decided that an international centre be set up in London, England to coordinate the campaign against apartheid in South African sport. The centre was to work in collaboration with the SCSA who's President is a Nigerian. In 1981, the UN organized the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa in Paris, France. The keynote speaker on that occasion was the Vice-President of Nigeria, Dr. Alex. I. Ekwueme. The conference adopted a resolution titled "Boycott of apartheid Sport". Nineteen-eighty-two was declared the "International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions against South Africa", by the UN. The General Assembly marked the year by the presentation of its gold medals to seven distinguished persons considered to have made outstanding contributions to the international movement for sanctions against apartheid policies of South Africa. Chief Abraham Ordia was one of the recipients of the gold medal award. It was in recognition for his fight against apartheid sport policy of the Pretoria Government.

The Commonwealth

South Africa withdrew her membership of the Commonwealth in 1961 largely due to her racial policies. She automatically lost her membership of the CGF. In June 1977 the Commonwealth Heads of Government adopted the Gleneagles Declaration. Nigeria was a party to the Establishment of the declaration. In 1979 the CHG passed a resolution on the Lusaka Declaration. In 1981 the Commonwealth meeting of its Finance Ministers was transferred from New Zealand to the Bahamas following the refusal of the New Zealand government to stop the 1981 Springbok rugby football tour of New Zealand. Nigeria was a party to decision to transfer the meeting.

The Commonwealth Games Federation

The CGF is a non-governmental organization. It gives effect to decisions relating to sport taken by the Commonwealth Heads of Government. In 1970, following the proposed South Africa's cricket tour of Britain, Nigeria and other African, Asian and the Caribbean Commonwealth members of the CGF threatened to boycott that year's Edinburgh Commonwealth Games. Among the actions taken by the CGF to resolve the matter was an urgent two day visit to Lagos, Nigeria by Sir Alex Ross, Chairman of the CGF for consultations with Chief Abraham Ordia, Secretary General NOC of Nigeria and President SCSA. An outcome of the Lagos discussion was the realization of the determination of the African nations to boycott the Edinburgh Games, Sir Ross' further discussions with the MCC in London persuading it to withdraw its invitation to South Africa's cricket team. It was the intervention of the Labour government of Prime Minister Wilson which stopped the cricket tour.

In 1981, Nigeria initiated actions which led to the first extraordinary meeting of the CGF on 5 May 1982 at the Marlborough House, London. During that meeting, among other things it was decided that:

1. There should be a code of conduct on the Gleneagles Agreement.
2. The constitution of the CGF be amended, to incorporate the code of conduct as one of the amendments.

On 6 October 1982, the code of conduct to the Gleneagles Agreement was unanimously adopted by the General Assembly of the CGF; and the Federation's constitution was also amended to provide sanctions for any member Association which grossly violates the Gleneagles Agreement.

Other Actions

Among the other actions of Nigeria in some anti-apartheid sport campaigns between 1960 and 1982 were the following:

1. the withdrawal of Nigerian athletes from a 1967 London Open Track and Field Championships;
2. the boycott of the 1976 Montreal Olympics along with other twenty-nine countries;
3. the withdrawal from the 1978 Edmonton Commonwealth Games by Nigeria;
4. the withdrawal from the 1976 conference of the International Badminton Federation by the Nigerian delegation;
5. Nigeria's withdrawal from the 1980 Davis Cup in Israel; and
6. the protest against the playing tour of the Orient Football Club of England in Lagos.

All these actions are in keeping with the opposition of Nigeria to the South African racial sport policy.

Footnotes to Chapter V

¹A summary of the eight-point charges by the African NOC's against SANOC is as follows:

- i) It violates rule 25 for being tied to government policy.
- ii) It violates rule 24 failing to guarantee membership of nonwhites in national sports.
- iii) It violates rule 1 for no equal mixed racial competitions.
- iv) It discriminates on provision of facilities and training opportunities.
- v) It has not complied with IOC Baden-Baden resolution.
- vi) The 1969 White South African Games violates the Olympic charter.
- vii) It used the IOC symbol illegally.
- viii) Its affiliates were already suspended by 9 IFs (Lapchick, 1975, pp. 191-192).

²The comment was made by a member of the UN General Assembly H.G. Mrs. Jean-Martin Cissé from Guinea. She succeeded Mr. Ogbu as Chairman of the Special Committee against South Africa, October 1975 to April 1976.

³See Appendix 10 for the text of the "International Declaration against Apartheid in Sport".

⁴See Appendix 11 for the revised draft of the "International Convention against Apartheid in Sports".

⁵See Appendix 12 for Lusaka Declaration on Racism and Racial Prejudice.

⁶The reference of Chief Ordia to New Zealand in this context is directed to the NZO & CGA which was represented during the 5 May Marlborough House meeting of the CGF and not the government.

⁷The Marlborough House statement of 5 May 1982 is reflected in the Code of Conduct of the Gleneagles Declaration shown in Appendix 13.

⁸See Figure 2 for the Political Map of Africa.

⁹See Appendix 14 for the Text of the Statement by the Federal Military Government of Nigeria on Participation at 1978 Commonwealth Games.

¹⁰Mr. Yahaya Sanni is the Manager, News and Current Affairs, Nigerian Television Authority, Ilorin. He has been in the news media for more than 15 years. He had attachment with the BBC London for 6 months, he had worked on newspapers which include the Daily Post, and Nigerian Herald as an editorial staff. He has covered several sporting events locally and internationally.

CHAPTER VI

THE IMPACT OF NIGERIA'S ACTIONS RELATIVE TO SOUTH AFRICA'S APARTHEID SPORT ON WORLD VIEW, AND THE EFFECTS ON NIGERIA'S SPORT ENVIRONMENT

THE IMPACT OF NIGERIA'S ACTIONS RELATIVE TO SOUTH AFRICA'S APARTHEID SPORT ON WORLD VIEW

A consideration of Nigeria's actions resulting from her stance on the South African apartheid sport policy regarding the impact on world view will be based on the evidence already presented. In this connection world view on South Africa's apartheid sport policy is defined as a comprehensive power of perceiving the negative aspects of racial discriminatory policies in the South African society as they affect sport, particularly, by some international organizations including the UN, IOC, Commonwealth, CGF, OAU, and SCSA; and the measures they have adopted to pressure South Africa to change its apartheid sport policy. Nigeria's actions, as a part of the composite of actions taken by a range of international bodies against South Africa's apartheid sport policy, may be described as "the tip of the iceberg". The greatest and the most effective action ever taken at the international scene against South Africa was its expulsion from the Olympic movement in May 1970, at the IOC meeting in Amsterdam. South Africa has described this action as a ". . . punishment equal to that for the worst of capital crimes . . ." (SANOC, Application for re-recognition by IOC, 23 May 1981, p. 1). Before that action was taken the sporting world witnessed a number of events which culminated in it. They include the tour of South Africa by the three-member IOC fact finding commission in 1967, in which a Nigerian, Sir Ademola, was a member; the uncompromising role of the SCSA and the African NOCs which were led by Abraham Ordia from Nigeria. The expulsion

motion itself was moved by the Nigerian IOC member, Sir Ademola. This singular action appeared to have motivated a number of International Sport Federations to take similar actions against that country to the extent that,

By the end of May [1970], South Africa was close to a position of total isolation in world sport. In addition to being expelled from the IOC, it was either expelled or suspended in the following sports: table tennis, football (soccer), basketball, fencing, judo, volleyball, boxing. . . . Later in 1970, South Africa was suspended in athletics and wrestling (Lapchick, 1975, p. 197).

These events, in turn, had their impact on world view of apartheid sport policy in South Africa.

At the level of the UN, Nigeria in her position as the Chairman of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid and Racial Discrimination for most of the years since 1970 has had a significant impact. Evidence of the activities of that committee earlier cited in this chapter suggests their great effect on world view.

Nigeria was also a party to the Gleneagles Declaration in 1977. That document has become an important achievement of the Commonwealth Heads of Government. It is one of the instruments which has the potential of pressing South Africa to change its racial sport policy through further isolation. The recent resolution of the code of conduct on the Gleneagles Declarations and its ultimate insertion as part of the amendment of the CGF constitution on 6 October 1982 is significant. It is hoped that the "code will be faithfully complied with in view of the constitutional powers conferred upon the Federation to deal with gross non-fulfilment of the Gleneagles Declaration . . ." (CGF, Special Resolution, 6 October 1982). The compliance with the code among other things, will most probably lead to the following:

1. Sporting links between South Africa and member countries of the CGF

will discontinue.

2. South Africa might change her racial sport policy in order to resume international sport with her oldest traditional friendly sporting nations in rugby football and cricket in particular.
3. A change in South Africa's racial sport policy to non-racial system has the potential of improving the race relations in that society.

THE EFFECT OF NIGERIA'S ACTIONS RELATIVE TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN APARTHEID SPORT ON THE SPORT ENVIRONMENT OF NIGERIA

During the second half of the 1970's Nigerian athletes boycotted the 1976 Montreal Olympics and the 1978 Edmonton Commonwealth Games, both hosted in Canada. The boycotts of the two events are of special importance in this study because the Olympics and the Commonwealth Games are two of the foremost international sporting events outside of Africa which Nigeria rates very highly. These boycott actions negate the efforts to comply with Nigeria's National Sports Commission (NSC) Act No. 34, of 1971, amended in 1979. In particular, one of the functions laid down in the Act which requires the NSC "to ensure the participation of all sportsmen where required in inter-state, national or international competitions" (NSC Act. No. 34, 1979, Sec. 3[3]f). The inability of the NSC to fulfil a part of the obligations of this Act is among the effects of Nigeria's actions relating to the issue of South Africa's racial sport on Nigeria's sport environment. An attempt will be made to identify and examine some of the effects of the boycott and the withdrawal from the 1976 Olympics and the 1978 Commonwealth Games respectively on the sports environment of the country.

The effects will be examined under four headings namely:

- i) the effects on athletes;

- ii) the effects on sports programmes;
- iii) the effects on national resources; and
- iv) the effect on the medals table standing of Nigeria in the Olympic Games and the Commonwealth Games.

i) The Effect of the Boycotts of the 1976 Olympics and the 1978 Commonwealth Games on Athletes

The athletes under consideration include those who had attained the standards required to represent Nigeria at international engagements particularly the Olympics and the Commonwealth Games. Several had real expectations of achieving medal winning performances. Budding athletes who aspired to represent the country internationally were also considered. Some of the athletes in the first category actually experienced the boycott actions as members of the Nigerian teams for either or both of the Montreal Olympics and the Edmonton Commonwealth Games. The effects of these boycotts on them will be examined during the years between 1978 and 1982 focussing on their performances at the 1980 Moscow Olympics and the 1982 Brisbane Commonwealth Games, if they entered for them. The examination is limited to track and field athletes in the events in which Nigeria entered competitors for the 1976 Olympics and the 1978 Commonwealth Games. The athletes and events which are reflected in Tables II, III, and IV will represent the main focus. After the withdrawal of Nigeria from the Edmonton Commonwealth Games of 1978 it was evident that many Nigerian athletes who experienced either or both of the boycotts of 1976 and 1978 became discouraged and frustrated. Some of them were rather reluctant to train for a future international engagement, particularly the 1980 Olympics the next world class event in which the athletes might participate. An athlete has explained the effect of the boycott actions on the sportsmen and the state of affairs after the boycotts, in the

1980 Olympic season as follows:

The boycotts have really given us poor performance, because a lot of athletes will train and train and they will later be told that they [can] not compete. The morale is down. Definitely . . . a lot of people did not come out during the 1980 Olympic season. Most athletes did not want to train and be disappointed. They decided to face other things as a result of the frustrations we had in 1976 and 1978. . . . It really affected Nigeria in 1980. Even from the performance. I myself did not go to Moscow. Some of our better athletes who had similar experience did not go to Moscow also (Interview with G. Obasogie, in Lagos, 20 July 1982).

Obasogie was the 110 m hurdler who was one of the athletes that experienced the two boycotts. He felt that he could have won a medal at the Montreal Olympics. According to him "I was in a position to come back to Nigeria with at least an Olympic bronze medal because a week before the Olympics started I was ranked No. 2 in the world . . ." The actual result at that Olympics shown in Table II suggests that Obasogie might not have won a medal except if his performance had improved. However, on the basis of the results at the 1978 Commonwealth Games it would appear that Obasogie might have won a gold medal if he had competed and maintained his best performance of 13.60 seconds on that occasion.

According to the records of the NOC of Nigeria, it has been confirmed that some of the athletes who experienced one or both of 1976 and 1978 Nigeria's "self-exile" from international competitions did not compete at the Moscow Olympics of 1980. In addition to G. Obasogie, whose event has been examined above, other athletes included C. Ehizuelem, in long jump and triple jump; F. Imadiyi, in 400 m and 4 x 400 m relay; and M. Oshikoya, in female long jump, pentathlon, and 4 x 100 m relay. It was believed by many people who follow Nigeria's participation in international sport that the frustrations experienced by her sportsmen and women during the past two boycotts were largely responsible for their unwillingness to join the national team. However, there were a

few athletes who experienced the boycott actions and who subsequently participated in the 1980 Moscow Olympics. These included P. Okodogbe, H. Adio, N. Udo, S. Oyeledun (Men); and R. Uba, O. Nsenu (Women). The personal performances of these athletes at the Moscow Olympics is shown in Table V which follows. The outcome of the competitions did not yield any medals for the Nigerian team at the Moscow Olympics of 1980.

During September/October 1982 Nigeria participated in the Brisbane XII Commonwealth Games. The Nigerian contingent was made up of 51 participants which included:

12 Track and Field Athletes (Men and Women)

2 Coaches

1 Chaperon

1 Team Manager

2 Badminton Players

1 Coach/Team Manager

6 Boxers

1 Coach

1 Team Manager

5 Wrestlers

1 Coach

1 Team Manager

6 Weightlifters

1 Coach

1 Team Manager, and

9 NOC Headquarters Staff

(Source: Records of the NOC of Nigeria, Lagos, 1982).

TABLE V
BEST PERFORMANCES OF SELECTED NIGERIAN ATHLETES AT THE 1980 MOSCOW OLYMPICS

Athlete	Event	Best Performance	Placing
P. Okodogbe	100 m	10.34s, in $\frac{1}{4}$ final series 3	7 in semi-final, series 2 (10.51)
	200 m	21.03s	6 in semi-final, series 1
H. Adio	100 m	10.58s in preliminary	7 in $\frac{1}{4}$ final 10.67s, series 2
S. Oyeledun	100 m	10.59s in preliminary	- - -
N. Udo	400 m	45.88s	5 in semi-final, series 1
National Team	4 x 100 R	39.12s	7 in final
National Team	4 x 400 R	3m 14.10s	- - -
<u>Women</u>			
R. Uba	100 m	11.60s	6 in $\frac{1}{4}$ final, series 3
	200 m	23.36s in preliminary	6 in $\frac{1}{4}$ final, 23.55s, series 2
O. Nsenu	100 m	11.55s	6 in $\frac{1}{4}$ final, series 2

(Afrosport [London], September 1980, pp. 8, 11-12).

Of those competitors only two were on the 1978 list shown on Tables III and IV. The first athlete, S. Oyeledun, who was a reserve for the 4 x 100 m relay team in 1978 due to injuries. He was in the 4 x 100 m relay team that won the gold medal in 1982 Brisbane Commonwealth Games. The second athlete, R. Uba, a female 100 m sprinter did not win a medal in her individual event, nor did her 4 x 100 m relay team.

Apart from Oyeledun and Uba who competed in Brisbane, a few other athletes were on the 1978 list and who subsequently reported for the 1982 camp in July. They included G. Obasogie (110 m hurdles), R. Peters (400 m, 4 x 400 m relay), and P. Okodogbe (100 m, 200 m, 4 x 100 m relay). None of these three made the final team that went to Brisbane. Considering their performances in 1978 as indicated in Table III, it would appear that they ought to have been able to make the team under normal conditions. Godwin Obasogie was asked at the national camp in July 1982 how prepared he was for the 1982 Brisbane Commonwealth Games. In his reply Obasogie said among other things,

Actually I did not start training until I was informed that Nigeria will be taking part. It is really affecting me right now because I had little time, not the time I had wanted to use for my training. I did not want to waste my time leaving my studies for training then in the long run they will tell you "you are not going". . . . I decide to face my studies and let them announce, "O.K. we are going", before I came out (Interview with G. Obasogie in the national camp, Lagos, 20 July 1982).

It is evident from Obasogie's remarks that he did not have full confidence on the decision by Nigeria to compete. This was due to his personal disappointments in 1976 Olympics and 1978 Commonwealth Games. It is not unlikely that the other two athletes, Okodogbe and R. Peters were in similar situations. It may therefore be inferred that the boycotts had a negative effect on the athletic careers of these athletes and on the athletics team sent to represent Nigeria at the Brisbane Games.

The effects of the boycotts under consideration on the athletes were apparent to many other members of the Nigerian public aside from the athletes themselves. The comments which are stated below are examples which reflect the opinions of others. A senior executive of the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) in Ilorin remarked that:

The boycotts, for example of the 1978 Edmonton Commonwealth Games had an adverse effect on us [Nigeria] because at that point in time our athletes were at the peak, and for anybody who cares to follow the performances of our athletes, that was a year I had the hope that we were really going to make further impact on the international scene as regards sport . . . but unfortunately we did not compete. It was to some of the athletes a let down, and in fact a last straw that breaks the camel's back. In fact some of the athletes withdrew from participation in athletics . . . (Interview with the Manager, News & Current Affairs, NTA, Ilorin, Mr. Yahaya Sanni, 15 July 1982).

Another respondent, a University don, had this to say:

I must tell you that the boycotts have not helped sport in this country. This is a bitter truth of the whole matter. Boys have trained, they were camped, their hopes were raised, just the last minute they were told they cannot compete. They in fact ought not to be prepared at all . . . (Interview with Dr. J.C. Omuruan, Lagos, 23 July 1982).

A senior government official, a Director of Political Relations and Cultural Affairs in the External Affairs Ministry, who was a part of the Nigerian delegation to the Marlborough House Assembly of 5 May 1982 observed that:

. . . at the individual level, . . . I have no feeling of doubt whatsoever that . . . human beings being what they are, to assess the effect of boycotts must necessarily be negative. To take an athlete who has spent . . . months preparing against an event and in which he sincerely believes he can fight it out with any competitor from any part of the world, and he is suddenly being denied the opportunity. There is no gain saying that . . . he will feel let down; and there is no doubt that it may hurt his spirit of competition . . . (Interview with Mr. J. Afolabi, Lagos, 29 July 1982).

There is evidence to suggest that individual members of the NOC of Nigeria are concerned about the effects of the boycotts; for example, one of their members stated:

Actually I would say that, 1976 was probably the most important year for sports in Nigeria because from all standards we had the best team, we sent the best contingent, and the standards were very high. . . . Therefore, it was a great blow that we did not compete. . . . I would agree . . . that the disappointment of 1976 affected the morale of the athletes and that is one of the most depressing aspects of this apartheid campaign. A good number of the athletes felt that they should not kill themselves training only to be let down at the last moment that there would be no competition . . . (Interview with Dr. Adegbite, President, NOC, Lagos, 28 July 1982).

From all indications and all available evidence it can be generalized that most sports conscious people in Nigeria believe that the boycotts of 1976 Montreal Olympics and of 1978 Edmonton Commonwealth Games have had an adverse effect on the athletes in the country. Among other things, they affected some athletes' training regimen, their expectations and their morale.

ii) The Effect of the Boycotts of the 1976 Olympics and the 1978 Commonwealth Games on Sport Programmes

Sport programmes at any level depend on a number of factors in order to be effective. These include funds, facilities and equipment, available human expertise (technical and administrative), time, and willing athletes. Programmes are required for different skill levels including those for mass participation in sports, budding and developing gifted athletes and the highly skilled, international competitive athletes. The programmes for respective skill levels are inter-related in certain respects, for example, success and achievement of top athletes at international competitions can motivate some budding and hidden talented athletes to more dedicated training. On the other hand, failures and the inability to realize success at international levels, for whatever reasons, can have negative effects on the sports programmes at the other levels. With respect to the Nigerian situation, in 1972/73 the NSC set up a Coaching, Training and Research Advisory Committee (CT & RAC) to

advise the Commission through its appropriate body on matters relating to future sports development in the country. In carrying out its functions, the committee organized a series of working meetings and seminars, after which it submitted its report which included some recommendations. Among other things, the recommendations urged the NSC to encourage (i) the formation of more amateur sports associations, including wrestling and weightlifting, in order to increase the country's scope of participation at international competitions; (ii) national amateur associations of respective sports to embark upon long range, coordinated programmes to include a talent hunt for athletes, the camping of athletes, a drive for sponsorship of programmes by industrial and other companies and the exposure of athletes to frequent warm-up competitions at various levels, domestic and international preparatory to any major international championships. The recommendations were favourably received and some of them have since become a part of the regular practice of some national amateur sports associations. The effect of following such programmes was reflected in the good results achieved by Nigeria at the 1973 Second All-Africa Games in Lagos, and at the X Commonwealth Games in Christchurch, New Zealand in 1974. The same patterns of programmes were executed preparatory to the 1976 Montreal Olympics and the 1978 Third All-Africa Games and complied with in the boycotted Commonwealth Games. Some of the features of the preparations have been discussed under the appropriate sections. However, following the boycott of 1976 Olympics and the 1978 Commonwealth Games of Edmonton, many sportsmen and athletes in the country were discouraged, and the human factors in the programmes of a number of national sports associations were jeopardized. Some athletes invited to camps preparatory to important tournaments including the 1980 Moscow Olympics did not show up. Some of the preparations made by

national associations remained on the pages of papers and were not executed as planned. The Principal of the National Institute of Sports (NIS) in his comments on the effect of the boycotts on programmes for sports said:

It [had] a very depressing effect on the sporting scene because . . . there is uncertainty in the minds of officials and competitors and therefore training cannot be undertaken wholeheartedly . . . and it interferes and interrupts planning and execution of programmes. So I would really say that to a very drastic extent it affects training programme and the general Olympic sports development programme of this country (Interview with Dr. A. Eleyae, Lagos, 27 July 1982).

Considering the evidence presented above, it was therefore no surprise that in spite of the last minute efforts and a large sum of money which was spent to send the largest contingent from Africa to the 1980 Moscow Olympics, the country failed to win a medal at the Games.

iii) Effect on National Resources

Some of the factors required for the development of sports programmes have been identified in the preceding section and included facilities and equipment, human personnel, time and funds. These factors may be classified under the two broad headings of financial resources and human resources. With such classification, facilities, equipment and time may be grouped under financial resources, while human personnel would fall under human resources. The estimates for the Nigerian contingent to the 1980 Moscow Olympics prepared by the NSC is presented for examination. In order to assess the cost involved in preparation for, and participation in, an international sport competition at that level, a summary of the breakdown as reflected in the estimate is stated on the following page.

In the absence of the approved budget and the audited expenditure, the estimate that is available is used as a guide and as an illustration. Assuming that the estimated sum of money was the amount spent

Summary for Estimate for the Olympic Games Moscow 1980

1. Meetings of Olympic Committee	# 3,963.00
2. Preparations	579,780.00
3. Training and Competition Equipment	40,000.00
4. Medical	20,000.00
5. Preliminaries for 3 Games (Football, Basketball, and Volleyball)	60,000.00
6. Official contribution of \$4.00 per person per day for 12 days for 182 people	5,460.00
7. Outfit Ceremonial and Competition	101,995.00
8. Allowances Abroad	26,418.00
9. Fares	191,004.00
10. Contingencies	20,000.00
	<hr/> #1,048,620.00 <hr/>

(one million, forty-eight thousand, six hundred and twenty Nigerian naira)¹
 (Source: NSC, Estimate for the Olympic Games, 1980, Lagos, 1980)

on the 1980 Moscow Olympics, then the cost to the nation was #1,048,620.00, that is \$2,097,240.00 Canadian.

In the case of the 1976 boycotted Olympics (for which information on the cost was not available), basing its estimate on similar numbers of athletes and officials as those for the 1980 Olympics, it is reasonable to assume that about the same amount of monies as was estimated in the case of the Moscow Games might have been involved. There was also an additional expenditure on activities which were organized to compensate the athletes for being denied the opportunity to participate at that Olympics. While some of the activities have been mentioned earlier, it is relevant for the purpose of emphasis to make reference to the playing tour of China organized for the soccer team and selected officials. On

the basis of the estimate for the 1980 Olympics that is available, a conservative estimate for the expenditure in respect of both the 1976 boycotted Olympics, and the 1980 Moscow Games in which no medal was won may be placed at ₦2,097,240.00 (\$4,823,652.00 Canadian).

A comparison of the sum of ₦1,048,620.00 the estimate for the 1980 Moscow Olympics with figures from Nigeria's capital budget for the same 1980 fiscal year will be examined in order to assess its value on the national resources. Some of the figures shown in the budget table which follows will be used.

In 1980, the superintending federal government ministry for sport was the Ministry of Social Development, Youth, Sports and Culture. The allocation for the ministry during that year was ₦7,873,000.00. Of this, the sum of ₦1,048,620.00 assumed to have been expended on Moscow Olympics under consideration represents almost 8% of the total allocation for the whole ministry in that year. The amount of money is quite substantial in comparison with allocations for other ministries which include Labour with less than two million naira in that budget; Environment with about four-and-a-half million naira. A sum of nearly one-and-a-half million naira could provide a part of some basic infrastructures required for sport in the country; for example, training swimming pools. Such facilities are capable of making an impact on the improvement of swimming skills in the country. On the basis of this comparison, it becomes increasingly clear that Nigeria was prepared to jeopardize at substantial investment in order to maintain pressure against the apartheid policy. But money was not all that was jeopardized, the realities of the apparent unsuccessful performance of the Nigerian contingent at the 1980 Olympics is considered in terms of athletic performance which can be traced, in part, to the consequences of the boycott actions under review.

TABLE VI
1980 CAPITAL BUDGET OF NIGERIA

CAPITAL EXPENDITURE

The Capital Budget for 1980 has been fixed at ₦7.623 Billion to be financed as follows :—

	<i>Billion</i>
Recurrent Revenue Surplus	N5.340
Internal Loan	N0.054
External Project Loans	N1.065
Total Capital Receipts	N6.459
Resources Shortfall or Gap	N1.164
TOTAL CAPITAL BUDGET	₦7.623

The resource gap will be bridged by enforcing a 20 per cent reservation across the board pending improvement in revenue expectation.

The highlights of sectoral allocations are as follows :—

SUMMARY OF 1980 CAPITAL EXPENDITURE

Agriculture	260,044,000
Livestock	38,571,000
Forestry	13,180,000
Fisheries	14,883,000
Mining and Quarrying	669,833,000
Manufacturing and Craft	1,242,299,000
Power	400,000,000
Commerce and Finance	84,994,000
Land Transport System	918,330,000
Water Transport System	118,722,000
Air Transport System	153,510,000
Posts and Telecommunications	571,463,000
Education	694,232,000
Health	110,429,000
Information	59,912,000
Labour	1,800,000
Social Development, Youth, Sports and Culture	7,873,000
Water Resources	538,029,000
Environment	4,550,000
Housing	452,630,000
Town and Country Planning	19,400,000
Co-operatives and Supply	15,388,000
Prisons	15,566,000
Police	80,000,000
Defence	500,000,000
General Administration	468,484,000
External Financial Obligations	168,400,000
TOTAL, FEDERAL CAPITAL EXPENDITURE	₦7,622,522,000

iv) Effect on Nigeria's Standing on Medal Tables of the Olympics, and the Commonwealth Games

Nigeria participated in six Commonwealth Games between 1950, when she first entered a team, and 1974, before the 1978 boycott. Up to that time Nigerian athletes had performed well, and their success was mounting. ". . . Nigeria won 9 [gold medals], three in athletics, six in boxing, to place 13th (tying with Northern Ireland) on the list of 31 countries that have won gold medals in the history of the Commonwealth Games" (Agbogun, 1975, p. 53). After the 1978 Edmonton Games, Nigeria's gold medal total did not change from what it was in 1974, because of her withdrawal from that year's competitions as a consequence of her anti-apartheid actions. Her gold medals standing record dropped from the previous 13th place in the Commonwealth to 14th place, as reflected in Table VII which follows.

When Nigeria resumed participation in the Games at the 1982 Brisbane celebrations, she added 5 gold medals by winning one in athletics in the 4 x 100 m relay men, three in boxing, and one in weightlifting, to place seventh in that year's Games. On the basis of the running totals from her previous involvement she increased her gold medals total to 14. Nigeria thereby improved her standing to the 12th place among the nations that have won gold medals in the history of the Games. Considering the prospects of winning gold medals by Nigerian athletes in the 1978 Commonwealth Games as reflected in part through Tables III and IV, Nigeria would have had an opportunity of increasing her gold medals totals in the Games for the period between 1930 and 1978. This, in turn, would have improved the country's standing order at the end of the 1978 Games. In this connection, it appears reasonable to observe that the boycott of the 1978 Edmonton Commonwealth Games has had

TABLE VII
COMMONWEALTH GAMES: GOLD MEDALS STANDING ORDER

Standing Order 1930-1974	Gold Medals 1930-1974	Gold Medals 1930-1978	Standing Order After 1978 Games	Gold Medals 1930-1982	Standing Order After 1982 Games
1. England	253	280	1	318	1
2. Australia	242	266	2	305	2
3. Canada	127	173	3	198	3
4. South Africa	60	60	5	60	5
5. New Zealand	59	64	4	69	4
6. Scotland	37	40	6	48	6
7. Pakistan	20	20	8	20	8
8. Jamaica	14	16	10	18	10
9. Kenya	14	21	7	25	7
10. India	14	19	9	24	8
11. Ghana	11	12	11	12	13
12. Wales	10	12	11	16	11
13. Nigeria	9	9	14	14	12
14. Northern Ireland	9	11	13	11	14
15. Uganda	6	6	15	6	15
16. Trinidad & Tobago	4	4	17	4	17
17. Singapore	4	4	17	4	17
18. Malaysia	4	5	16	6	15
19. Malaya	2	2	21	2	23
20. Ceylon (Sri Lanka)	2	2	22	2	24
21. S. Rhodesia (Zimbabwe)	2	2	23	3	21
22. St. Vincent	2	2	24	2	25
23. Tanzania	2	3	19	4	17
24. Zambia	2	2	25	2	26
25. Fiji	1	1	27	2	27
26. Guyana	1	2	26	2	28
27. N. Rhodesia (Malawi)	1	1	28	1	29
28. Hong Kong	1	3	19	4	17
29. Bahamas	1	1	29	3	21
30. Barbados	1	1	30	1	30
31. Isle of Man	1	1	31	1	31

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Computed from: Agbogun, J.B. Nigeria at the Commonwealth Games. Ilorin, Kwara Pri. & Publishing Co., 1975.

NOC of Nigeria Official Records Placing of Nigerian Sportsmen and Women at Commonwealth Games.

Official Pictorial Record of the XI Commonwealth Games, Edmonton, 1978.

a negative effect on Nigeria's standing on the gold medal table of the Games at the completion of the XI Commonwealth Games in 1978.

In the Olympics, the achievement of Nigerian athletes in terms of medals since she first entered a team in 1952 has been two bronze medals in boxing. The first was won in the light-middle weight class by Nojim Maiyegun in 1964, and the second in the light-heavyweight division by Isaac Ikhouria in 1972. No medal in any other event has been won. In the light of the evidence highlighted earlier in this chapter including those reflected in Table I, the chances of winning medals in the 1976 Olympics would have been most probable. G. Obasogie in the 100 metres high hurdles, and C. Ehizuelem in the long jump and the triple jump events had, perhaps, the best chance of any of the Nigerian athletes to place in the medals. The boycott prevented the realization of any medal hope in those Games. The situation serves as a reminder that:

There is a tide in the affairs of men, which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune; omitted, all the voyage of their life is bound in shallows and in miseries (Shakespeare, Julius Caesar, Act IV, Scene iii, lines 217-220).

It is evident from the foregoing examination that Nigeria's boycott of the 1976 Olympics and the 1978 Commonwealth Games have negative effect on the country's sport environment. The country became aware of the effect to the point that she decided to adopt another approach in her fight against South Africa's apartheid sport policy, while she resumes competitions at these Games. The new approach will be considered in the next section.

THE APPROACH OF NIGERIA TO SOUTH AFRICA'S APARTHEID SPORT POLICY IN THE 1980'S

The boycott actions of the 1976 and 1978 were protests against countries which openly condone sporting links with apartheid South Africa

or which support the Pretoria government. These actions augmented by officials of some of Nigeria's National Sports Associations who have either boycotted or withdrawn from meetings of their respective International Federations for the same reasons. The situation has resulted in what may be described as "self-imposed exile from international sport" (Kidd, personal communication, 16 November 1982). However, while it is evident that the apartheid sport policy of South Africa is widely opposed in Nigeria, there has been some concern over the denial of her athletes the opportunity to compete in certain international engagements.

Some of the reactions to the question "What actions should Nigeria take on the South African apartheid policy in sport in order to ensure that Nigerian athletes win at international competitions?" will be examined. The respondents to the question include Nigerian athletes currently eligible to represent the country at international competitions in different sports as well as selected, knowledgeable persons in sports who are interested in and conversant with international participation. Some of these people include journalists, teachers, experienced sport administrators and government officials. One of the athletes stated that:

I am not against the fight to destroy apartheid. Nigeria is . . . out to help the black South Africans who are badly treated by the apartheid policy. . . . There should be other ways by which Nigeria should fight apartheid . . . we want to prove ourselves in important international Games . . . (Interview with P. Okodogbe, Lagos, 22 July 1982).

Okodogbe experienced the 1976 and 1978 boycotts. He is a track and field athlete and a 100 m and 200 m sprinter. Another athlete reacted as follows: "I think that most athletes support Nigeria's policy, but what they don't like is the fact that they have to labour up to the last minute, and . . . they can't take part in the competition" (D. Imonete,

22 July 1982). D. Imonete, a star lawn tennis player, experienced Nigeria's withdrawal from the Davis Cup in Israel in 1980. Another athlete had this to say ". . . politicians should use other means . . . If I have my way, I will deal with apartheid separately and deal with my sport separately" (G. Obasogie, 20 July 1982).

There were other remarks reflected in some of the completed questionnaires which did not require the names of the respondents. A few of the comments are as follows:

1. Nigeria should go and win medals. We must train and improve performances so that other countries can recognize us. Good performance is the only language the world will understand in sport.
2. . . . we should train our boys, meet South Africa and humble them in the ring in boxing . . . By boycotting and not participating in important games, I don't think we are doing ourselves any good . . .
3. . . . to win a medal in an Olympic competition is a pride to one's country . . . athletes who have been prepared for events should be allowed to compete.
4. I feel that Nigeria has problems internally . . . there appears not to be a clear cut goal with sports management. In recent years some mediocre officials are brought in to manage sports. Nigeria needs people with the right knowledge to help athletes and to advise government properly.

It is obvious from the reactions cited above that the fight against South Africa's apartheid sport policy by Nigeria is popularly supported by the respondents. At the same time it is made clear that Nigerians do not want to sacrifice their participation at international sporting events for that reason any longer. The position was recognized by agencies for sport as well as the government in Nigeria, as indicated in the following statement:

. . . many Nigerians feel very strongly on the issue of apartheid . . . they will probably be ready to support any reaction that will support vividly abhorrence for that evil and despicable practice called apartheid. On the other hand, if they had to choose between

active participation in sports and condemning apartheid they would probably opt for participating in full in sport but using other forms of opposition to apartheid (Interview with Dr. Adegbite, President NOC of Nigeria in Lagos, 28 July 1982).

The Nigerian government was sensitive to the growing apathy on the part of athletes to sport competitions, after the 1978 boycott incidence; particularly as noticed from the country's poor performance at the 1980 Moscow Olympics. After the Moscow Games, the government was faced with making decisions on two impending events. The first was the 1981 South Africa's Springbok rugby team tour of New Zealand. The second was the 1982 Brisbane, Australia Commonwealth Games. In the case of the first event, the impending Springbok tour, the government initiated steps at the diplomatic level among member OAU countries, and the African, Asian and Caribbean Commonwealth member countries to try to stop the tour. One of the steps was a petition sent by the fifteen African members of the Commonwealth Games Federation to Sir Alexander Ross, the Chairman of the CGF, from Lome, Togo, dated 28 June 1981. (This letter has been dealt with earlier.) It eventually led to the extraordinary meeting of the CGF in the Marlborough House on 5 May 1982. The outcome of the meeting culminated in the adoption of the code of conduct to the Gleneagles Declaration in Brisbane, Australia on 6 October 1982, which was included in amendment of the CGF constitution.

A similar step was taken through the SCSA, the sport agency of the OAU. In this case an official letter was despatched to the Government of New Zealand dated 27 April 1981 expressing the concern of the SCSA about the proposed tour of New Zealand by the Springboks of South Africa later in the year. The SCSA later relaunched its appeal "to the government and to all New Zealand organizations of the masses in order to rally public opinion against the tour of the Springboks" (SCSA,

Sport and Racial Discrimination, 1982, p. 9). Realizing that the South African team would travel through the US on its way to Wellington, New Zealand, if the tour was not cancelled, the SCSA also appealed to the US government to refuse the issuance of transit visas to members of the South African team. According to the records of the SCSA, President Regan's government did not reply to its appeal. The examples mentioned above consist in part of actions taken through appropriate bodies. They represent part of the new approach by Nigeria to South Africa's apartheid sport in the 1980's. There are some signs of success as witnessed in the historic amendment of the constitution of the CGF in 1982.

In attempting to determine what actions to take regarding the 1982 Brisbane Commonwealth Games, the government had consultations with a number of bodies at the domestic level. The bodies included, the National Sports Commission (NSC); the federal ministries of External Affairs and of Social Development Youth, Sport and Culture; as well as the SCSA through its President Chief Abraham Ordia of Nigeria. The outcome of these consultations resulted in a number of Inter-Ministerial meetings in which representatives of these bodies were present. During the meetings members deliberated on the issue with a view to making recommendations to government toward "a policy position for Nigeria, in regard to participation in international games which are stigmatised by apartheid connections" (Minutes of Inter-Ministerial meeting, Lagos, 21 May 1981).

According to the minutes of the same meeting, "after a comprehensive analysis of the points raised and a frank exchange of views . . .", the decisions taken included the following:

- (i) that Nigeria should no longer boycott international games as a matter of routine;

- (ii) that she should fight, instead, to remove the offending third party nation from the games;
- (iii) that, with particular reference to the proposed Springbok tour of New Zealand, Government should make a public statement denouncing it;
- (iv) that, that should be followed by a campaign to stop New Zealand from participating in the [Brisbane] Australian Games if she allowed the tour to take place;
- (v) that in view of the importance and urgency involved . . . we must act fast . . . (Minutes of Inter-Ministerial Meeting, Lagos, 21 May 1981).

It would appear that the government accepted the recommendations based on the decisions arrived at during the inter-ministerial meetings.

Nigeria decided to participate at the Brisbane, Australia Commonwealth Games of 1982. The outcome of her participation was successful. Nigeria won a total of 13 medals at the Games, of these five were gold.² She finished ahead of all the African countries who participated in the competitions; and placed seventh among the twenty-three countries which won medals in Brisbane.

On the basis of the evidence presented in this section it appears reasonable to make a number of observations: first, in 1981 Nigeria adopted a new approach in her fight against South Africa's apartheid sport policy. The decision was probably due to the apparent negative effect of her boycotts of the 1976 Olympics, and the 1978 Commonwealth Games, on the country's sport environment. This in turn, had led to her poor performance in terms of winning no medal at the 1980 Moscow Olympics. Second, the approach was based on the principles of no boycott of international games as a matter of routine. Rather, she would campaign to stop any country whose government openly supported sport contact by its nationals with South Africa until apartheid policy of that country was removed from sport. Third, considering Nigeria's role in the historic amendment of the constitution of the CGF, and the success of her team during the Brisbane Commonwealth Games of 1982, there

are signs to suggest that the approach of the 1980's will probably prove effective in the country's fight against apartheid sport in South Africa on the one hand, and also ensure that Nigerian athletes win at international competitions on the other hand.

The available evidence on the Nigerian public reaction to the country's boycott of international sport events in the 1970's through decisions of the government, appear to be overshadowed by the media reports of the other actions of the government in opposition to apartheid issues in Southern Africa generally. The boycott of international sport appear to be regarded as the right decision of the government. The general acceptance of the government decision appears to be consistent with the country's foreign policy principles of opposition to racial discrimination and racism.

SUMMARY

World view on South Africa's apartheid sport policy in this study is defined as a comprehensive power of perceiving the negative aspects of racial discriminatory policies in South Africa's sport, particularly by international organizations which include the UN, IOC, Commonwealth, CGF, OAU and the SCSA. It also relates to the measures adopted by these bodies to pressure South Africa to change her apartheid sport policy.

Nigeria's actions in the measures taken by some of the international organizations may be described as "the tip of the iceberg". Some of these actions are evident in the following:

1. The impact of the role played by Chief Abraham Ordia, and Sir Adetokunbo Ademola, both from Nigeria, apparent in the process of the expulsion of South Africa from the Olympic movement.

2. Nigeria has been Chairman of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid most of the years between 1970 and the present date. The effect on world view of all the UN resolutions against South Africa's apartheid policy generally, and apartheid sport in particular, during this period are in part due to the role of Nigeria in her position as chairman of the special committee.
3. Nigeria was a party to the establishment of the Gleneagles Declaration in 1977. She initiated actions which led to the amendment of the 52 year old constitution of the Commonwealth Games Federation.

At the domestic level, Nigeria's boycotts of the 1976 Olympics and the 1978 Commonwealth Games have meant a self-imposed exile from international sport competitions. The exile had a negative effect on the sport environment of the country particularly between 1978 and 1980 inclusive. Among other results, it had negative effects on the athletes; on the sport programmes; on the national resources; and on the medals table standing of Nigeria at the Commonwealth Games and the Olympic Games. However, the Nigerian public appears to support any action including boycott of international sport events by her athletes, taken in opposition to racial discrimination and South Africa's racial policy.

In 1981 Nigeria adopted a new approach in her fight against South Africa's apartheid sport policy, which include in part: that Nigeria will no longer boycott international sport stigmatized by apartheid connections as a matter of routine; rather she would campaign to exclude from international competitions countries which openly condone sporting links with South Africa until she changes her apartheid sport policy. The new approach appears to suggest that it will be effective in isolating South Africa from international competitions which

may probably lead to a change in her apartheid sport, and also ensure that Nigerian athletes win at international competitions.

Footnotes to Chapter VI

¹The average exchange rate of the Nigerian Naira to the Canadian dollar at that time was ₦1 to \$2.3. At that rate, the estimate under consideration in terms of Canadian currency was \$2,411,826 (two million, four hundred and eleven thousand, eight hundred and twenty-six dollars).

²See Table VII for the improvement on both Nigeria's gold medals and standing order after 1982 Games, over the 1974 medals which were not improved upon in 1978 as a result of the boycott.

CHAPTER VII

DISCUSSION

The study traces the background of South Africa's apartheid sport policy with respect to the discriminatory race relations which exist in that country. It is evident that sport has been a very important social institution in South Africa to the point that it was suggested that it "approaches the status of a national religion. . . . In fact, it was one of the key factors in Prime Minister Vorster's calling of the 1970 national election . . ." (Lapchick, 1975, p. 5).

The discussion will be based on three selected situations between 1960 and 1982 which emerge from the study. They include the following:

1. Some conditions which sustain apartheid sport policy in South Africa;
2. Selected actions of some international organizations on South Africa's apartheid sport policy; and
3. The effect of Nigeria's actions relating to South Africa's racial sport policy.

SOME CONDITIONS WHICH SUSTAIN APARTHEID SPORT POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA 1960 TO 1982

By 1960 two main conditions were identified as sustaining racial discrimination in South Africa's sport. The first relates to the social practice of discrimination based on the skin colour of individuals within the society; the second relates to the constitution of the country which is based on the principle of "separate development" of the four racial groups in the population.

CONDITIONS RELATING TO THE SOCIAL PRACTICE OF DISCRIMINATION
IN SOUTH AFRICA

As a result of the social practice of racial discrimination in the society, the constitutions of many sporting associations which were controlled by the whites, barred nonwhites from membership. It was not until 1963 that such barring clauses were deleted from the constitutions of some sporting bodies. This was to avoid suspension or expulsion from their respective international federations on the grounds of racial discrimination. But in practice, some white controlled sport associations continued discrimination on the basis of skin colour. It was therefore not necessary for the government of South Africa to legislate directly against multi-racial sport. Some of the laws which were established to sustain government policy of "separate development" indirectly made non-racial sport illegal.

In an examination of the first condition, the main reason expressed by the white national sport bodies for excluding nonwhites from national competitions was that their skills in the respective events were inadequately developed. They were thereby prohibited from participation in national and international competitions. This argument was disproved by the record of performances of some nonwhite sportsmen such as Precious McKenzie, and Ron Elland, weightlifters; Jake N'Tuli, boxer; and Basil D'Oliviera, star cricket player. In actual fact the evidence suggests that some of the sports bodies mainly desire to concentrate on white supremacy and racial segregation.

Assuming that nonwhite athletes were not good enough, barring them from white clubs would not improve them; rather admitting them might have helped to improve them. Also, the white sports bodies had access to better training facilities than the nonwhites. Considering that

exposure of athletes to training and competitions helps in the improvement of their standards, depriving nonwhite athletes of such opportunities only served to further hinder their prospects for skill improvement.

An assumption of admitting the nonwhite sportsmen as members of white sport bodies may also be examined from a sociological perspective. The structural-functionalists assume that changes in any part of the social system will have important consequences for other parts and for the system as a whole. "The basic perspective of the structural-functionalist point of view emerges in its prime emphasis on society, and on the interrelations of its institutions, rather than on the individual" (Inkeles, 1964, p. 34). The implication of this theory is that a change in the institution of South Africa's racial sport will most probably effect subsequent changes in the racial system of the society. This position appears to be supported by the outcome of a study on "Sport and Racial Relations in South Africa". A part of the conclusion from the study states that:

The pressure of a world set on liberalizing all peoples have shown definite effects in South Africa through the medium of sport. . . . The recently introduced policy on non-racial cricket in South Africa has considerable merit . . . it would most certainly have a strong influence upon other sports and hopefully, on the South African society as a whole (Louw, 1977, pp. 291-292).

The anticipated positive effect of multi-racial sport in South Africa is reflected in the conclusion.

Another reason expressed by the antagonists of non-racial sport is the threat that it may lead to social integration which will invalidate the separateness of the racial groups. The ultimate threat is made clear by a former Cabinet Minister, Mr. Albert Hertzog, who "vehemently rejected integrated sport as being a Communist ploy to get total integration and eventual black rule in South Africa" (Louw, 1975, p. 270).

From the economic sector a number of multinational firms which have investments in South Africa have, by financing racial sport programs, helped to sustain apartheid sports policy in the country. Some of these multinational firms include General Motors, Coca-cola, Colgate-Palmolive, Datsun-Nissan, and Gilette. The presence of many of the multinational companies in South Africa also have indirect influence on the processes of some actions taken relating to the country's racial sport policy at the international scene. This point will be examined in the discussion.

CONDITIONS RELATING TO THE CONSTITUTION OF SOUTH AFRICA

In considering the next condition which sustains apartheid sport policy in South Africa, a scrutiny of some government laws was undertaken. The South African government makes a distinction between an "act" of parliament as a "law" and a "policy" as a "regulation". The difference between them is clarified as follows:

The policy of the Government is unequivocally opposed to any form of inter-racial sport. There is, however, a big distinction between law and policy. Laws have to be observed and are enforceable by the courts. Compliance with policy is a matter for choice on the part of individual citizens and organizations. The foregoing deals with laws controlling multi-racial sport within South Africa and among South African sportsmen . . . but its policy concerning mixed sport on an international level can be enforced by the withholding of passports from South African sportsmen going overseas and the refusal of visas to sportsmen from elsewhere wishing to visit South Africa (Draper, 1963, p. 5).

In the absence of any law which forbids mixed participation in amateur sports, it would appear that it is legal for whites and nonwhites to play and compete together in sports. Some mixed sports were played under this condition. But with the establishment of other laws which have already been identified earlier, it is illegal for white and nonwhite sportsmen to play sport together. Multi-racial sportsmen may obtain

permits in order to play together for specified times in specified areas. The arrests and convictions which have resulted from these complicated laws and regulations have led to the slogan, "normal sport cannot be played in an abnormal society". The official comment of SANOC on this slogan did not deny the suggestion; rather it stated, among other things, that, ". . . . Of course, the system is not perfect and is still subject to teething troubles." (SANOC, South Africa and World Sport, No. 2, 1981, Question & Answer 22). The comment of SANOC suggests that in spite of its application for re-recognition by the IOC, it would appear that it still condones resistance to "normal" sport as advocated by the non-racial sport bodies. An explanation of the situation may be inferred from the theory which follows: "Change may be resisted because it contradicts certain fundamental values of people" (Lauer, 1977, p. 11). In the case of some white South Africans a fundamental value would be the supremacy of the whites in that society.

According to a 1981 publication of SANOC a question was asked whether national sport associations were prepared to incorporate into their constitutions the exact wording of the IOC clauses relating to discrimination, autonomy and non-governmental interference; 49 declared themselves prepared to do so, 4 did not respond, and 16 declined, giving as the reason the fact that they were not Olympic sports. On the basis of this result SANOC suggested that a tripartite Commission consisting of the IOC, the International Federations (IFs) and the NOCs should establish a set of principles or standards that has to be complied with. It pleaded, "Let those who do not comply remain isolated, in the name of elementary justice, let those who have achieved normalisation in the face of underestimated difficulties, be rewarded by re-admission to international participation" (SANOC, South Africa and World Sport, No. 2, 1981,

un-numbered pages, answer to question 23). It is evident from the foregoing discussion that a reasonable number of white controlled sport bodies accept the IOC charter of non-discrimination in sports. It is not likely that a 100 percent support for non-racial sport can be achieved in most societies, much less so in South Africa. In order to assist the efforts of those who have demonstrated genuine opposition to apartheid policy in sport, other government legislation is required. This position takes into consideration government approval of the amendment of those laws which indirectly negate multi-racial sports as given in 1981. At that time the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, 1953, was to be further investigated. As a first step in one of the last stages towards removal of apartheid policy from sport, the South African government should delete the Act on the allocation of Separate Facilities.

The conditions which sustain racial discrimination in South Africa's sport may not be limited to the actions by the government, SANOC and their allies. SANOC, in its ten-series publications on "South Africa and World Sport" devoted one of the series to allegations against SACOS and SAN-ROC. Considering the history of rivalry between SANOC and SACOS/SAN-ROC on the one hand, and available evidence on government persecution of members of SACOS/SAN-ROC on the other, some of the allegations might be regarded as being motivated by defensive mechanisms. However, some of the allegations raise serious questions which appear to border on racism in reverse. Some of the allegations are reflected in the following:

In an interview with the . . . newspaper "The National Mercury" of 12th February 1979, Mr. Hasan Howa, at the time and until recently President of SACOS, stated that he was against a "one man one vote" system because he feared being swamped by the Africans (blacks). . . . There were no African-dominated bodies within SACOS, nor any White and that all Executive positions were held by Indians and Coloureds. . . . At the Biennial Congress of SACOS, held on 9-10

May 1981 at Durban, the application for membership by Black University Sports Association was refused. . . . Indians and Coloureds were able to join SACOS's SA Primary School's Sports Association, but Blacks (Africans) were not members. . . . The first office bearers of SACOS were:

President	Mr. Norman Middleton	(Coloured)
Vice-President	Mr. Hasan Howa	(Coloured)
General Secretary	Mr. M.N. Pather	(Indian)
Honorary Treasurer	Mr. Abbas Rassool	(Indian)
Patron	Mr. Gev Singh	(Indian). . .

at the Biennial Congress of 9-10th 1981, the following people were elected:

President	Mr. Morgan Naidoo	(Indian)
Vice-President	Mr. Frank v.d. Horst	(Coloured)
Secretary General	Mr. M.N. Pather	(Indian)
Publications	Mr. Reggie Feldman	(Coloured)
Assistant Secretary	Mr. Colin Clark	(Coloured)
Patron	Dr. Abraham Ordia (Supreme Council for Sports in Africa)	
Patron	Mr. Amadou Lamine Ba (Supreme Council for Sports in Africa)	
Patron	Mr. Sam Ramsamy (SAN-ROC) (Ex South African Indian)	

(SANOC, South Africa and World Sport, No. 9, 1981, unpagged).

The records of the proceedings of SACOS 2nd and 3rd Biennial Conferences of 1977 and 1979 respectively appear to substantiate the list of the holders of the elective positions. All the patrons appointed in 1981 reside outside South Africa, they will therefore be excluded temporarily from the present consideration. It is observed that, according to the population classification in South Africa, either by accident or by design, there is neither an African nor a white member among the elected officers. Considering the gospel of non-racial sport advocated by SACOS, one wonders why the composition of the elective offices has been limited to only the coloured and the Indian members of the population? Could it be that no individuals from the black and white population groups are willing to serve in any of the key elective positions? On the basis of the available evidence, one is inclined to suggest that it is not enough for an organization to preach the gospel of non-racialism in sport, it is desirable that the composition of its elective offices is

seen to be non-racial.

On 6 April 1977 SACOS issued a statement which may be regarded as "the code of conduct" on its non-racial sport. It is stated below:

Any person, whether he is a player, an administrator or a spectator, committed to the non-racial principle in sport, shall not participate in or be associated with any codes of sport which practice, perpetuate or condone racialism or multi-nationalism.

Players and/or administrators disregarding the essence of this principle shall be guilty of practising double-standards, and cannot therefore be members of any organisation affiliated to SACOS (SACOS, Minutes of 2nd Biennial Conference, 1977, p. 67).

The interpretation of what constitute "double standards" might have led SACOS into conflicts with some individuals and organizations. It is not unlikely that some of the allegations against SACOS could probably be traced to this source.

It is evident from the discussion up to this point that SACOS/SAN-ROC, SANOC, and their allies have the love for sport as a common denominator. But, the conflicts which have their origin in the attempts to maintain the illusion of white race supremacy have contributed to the sustenance of the undesirable apartheid policy in sport in varying degrees in South Africa.

SELECTED ACTIONS OF SOME INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS ON SOUTH AFRICA'S APARTHEID SPORT POLICY

A selected number of international organizations whose actions have implications for South Africa's apartheid sport policy will be examined. The examination is a supplement to the actions of some international organizations considered in the preceding chapters. This discussion will be classified under five headings. These are:

1. Multi-national corporations with investments in South Africa;
2. The United Nations and the voting patterns on selected resolutions

on apartheid sport;

3. The International Olympic Committee and the International Federations;
4. The Supreme Council for Sports in Africa; and
5. The anti-apartheid movement in New Zealand and Nigeria's relations.

Multi-National Corporations with Investments In South Africa

Some of the multi-national corporations which are established in South Africa are Rothman's of Pall Mall of South Africa; Shell Oil Company; Colgate-Palmolive; General Motors; Datsun-Nissan; Peugeot-Citroen; British Petroleum; Total Petroleum; Coca-cola; and Holiday Inns (Hotel Group). All of these establishments depend to a great extent on the cheap labour provided by the nonwhites of South Africa. This is a result of the government's apartheid policy. Each of these companies has sponsored sport programs which indirectly tend to perpetuate racial segregation in South Africa.

A number of these corporations and wealthy white industrialists have set up two organizations which promote racist sport. In 1967, the South African Sports Foundation awarded its gold medal to Prime Minister Vorster for his "exceptional services to a specific sport, or to sport in general". . . . The Shell Oil Company backed the all-white 1969 South African Games with a grant of 75,000 pounds. . . . Colgate-Palmolive sponsored the Federation Cup Tournament in Philadelphia in which South Africa . . . participated (Free Southern Africa Committee Publication, 1976, p. 33).

It was Prime Minister Vorster who, on 11 April 1967, declared in a speech to the parliament that mixed sport would not be practised between whites and nonwhites in South Africa. The award of a sports foundation gold medal to Mr. Vorster suggests the direct support for his racial sport policy. On the basis of this evidence the actions of some of the trans-national corporations which have investments in South Africa may be described as designed to perpetuate racial segregation and white supremacy in South African sport.

The United Nations and the Voting Pattern on Selected Resolutions on Apartheid Sport

The actions of the UN on the issue of apartheid sport policy in South Africa are, in part, based on the organization's Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The declaration was adopted by the General Assembly of the UN on 10 December 1948. The UN actions are also based on the "premise that international peace should not be entrusted to agreement between a few states. . . . Together the states [in the UN] were to combat such sources of international conflict as . . . inequality, human degradation . . ." (Espy, 1981, p. 15).

The actions of the UN on apartheid sports in South Africa are reflected in its resolutions designed to exert pressure on the country such that a change results in her racial policy. On 2 December 1968 Resolution 2396 (XXIII) was adopted. It was the first resolution which mentioned apartheid in sport. Since 1968, with the exception of 1969, one resolution relating to apartheid sport in South Africa has been adopted each year up to 1980. On 29 November 1971 Resolution 2775 D (XXVI) titled "Apartheid in Sports" was adopted by the General Assembly of the UN. That was the first resolution devoted entirely to sport. This is an indication of the increased awareness and importance attached to sport in that world assembly. Most probably the expulsion of South Africa from the Olympic movement in May 1970 might have contributed to the awareness. Two clauses in the 1971 resolution made reference to the Olympic principles of non-discrimination. Clause No. 5 "Urges all States to promote adherence to Olympic principle of non-discrimination and encourage their sports organizations to withhold support from sporting events organized in violation of this principle".

The voting patterns on the resolutions will be examined in four

years: 1968, 1971, 1976 and 1977. The rationale for selecting these years are as follows: First, 1968 was the year when apartheid sport was first reflected in a UN resolution. Second, 1971 was the year immediately following the date when South Africa was expelled from the Olympic movement for her racial sport policy. Also, it was in 1971 that an entire resolution was devoted to apartheid sports. Third, 1976 was the year when thirty national teams boycotted the Montreal Olympics in protest against New Zealand for maintaining sporting links with South Africa. Fourth, 1977 was selected because the Gleneagles Agreement was reached in June that year, and also the "International Declaration against Apartheid in Sports" was adopted as UN Resolution 32/105/M in December of the year. The four years have been selected on the premise that the events already mentioned along with them might have effect on the voting pattern by member nations. A summary of the votes in respect of the four years is shown in the table which follows.

TABLE VIII

A SUMMARY OF VOTES IN THE UN ON APARTHEID SPORTS
IN FOUR SELECTED YEARS

Resolution	Date Adopted	Votes For	Against	Abstained	Absent
2396 (XXIII)	2 December 1968	86	3	15	23
2775 D (XXVI)	29 November 1971	110	2	8	16
31/6 F	9 November 1976	128	-	12	
32/105 M	14 December 1977	126	-	14	

Compiled from the Official Records of UN General Assembly on Resolutions and Decisions, 1968, p. 42; 1971, p. 116; 1976, pp. 946-947; 1977, p. 1678.

The countries which voted against the 1968 resolution included South Africa and Portugal. The position of South Africa was expected as well as that of Portugal which has territorial ambitions in Angola. The countries which abstained from voting included Australia, Belgium, Cuba, Ecuador, France, Italy, Luxembourg. Others were Malawi, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Peru, Spain, UK, and USA. Malawi is the only black African nation which abstained from voting. She maintains special economic ties with South Africa. Australia, New Zealand and the United Kingdom are Commonwealth member countries which abstained. USA also abstained from voting on the resolution. Abstaining from voting by Australia, New Zealand and the United Kingdom might be due in part to the traditional sporting ties with South Africa in cricket and rugby. There is evidence which suggests that economic factors play a role in this type of decision. In New Zealand it is suggested that the Rugby Union influenced the government. The Union "is an immensely powerful business organization and handles large sums of money. It is indirectly a substantial source of government revenue" (Thompson, 1975, p. 53). In the case of the UK, the economic investments of some of the transnational corporations already discussed in the previous section might also have influenced the decision of the UK government on this matter. The Shell Oil Company and British Petroleum are among the economic interests of the UK in South Africa. In the case of France, the Peugeot-Citroen business interests are of importance to the French government. Similarly, in the US the investments of General Motors and Total (Petrol) are some of the economic concerns of the US government. This study is not intended to examine in detail the economic factors on apartheid sports. Therefore the discussion of the voting patterns will be limited to Commonwealth member countries in the UN during the subsequent years

1971, 1976 and 1977.

In 1971 Malawi, which is South Africa's traditional friend, voted along with South Africa against the resolution which was overwhelmingly adopted by 110 votes. Only 8 abstained while 16 were absent. Australia, New Zealand and UK abstained, most probably for the same reasons earlier mentioned for 1968. The large number of votes for the motion suggests the preparedness of an increasing number of nations of the world to eradicate racial discrimination in sport.

In the 1976 voting there was a further increase in the number of nations willing to take actions against South Africa's apartheid sport. No country voted against the motion and 12 others abstained. Among these twelve were Malawi, Papua and New Guinea, New Zealand and UK. It is significant that no country opposed the motion as such, since there was no vote cast against it. The boycott of the Montreal Olympics earlier in the same year might have informed many more countries of the world about pressures against South Africa's apartheid sport policy.

Nineteen-seventy-seven was the year in which the Gleneagles Agreements were adopted by the Commonwealth Heads of Government. It might have had some effect on most Commonwealth countries who supported the UN resolution of that year. There were no votes against. Ireland, New Zealand and UK abstained from voting. The voting pattern of the Commonwealth member countries appear to suggest that the Gleneagles Agreements might have had positive effects on opposition to apartheid sport in South Africa. It is of great significance that a majority of the UN member States consistently voted in favour of bringing an end to South Africa's apartheid sport policy. It is also of interest to note that among this majority of nations are Canada and Nigeria.

The International Olympic Committee and the International Federations

The IOC is a transnational sport organization because it is represented by nongovernmental bodies, and its activities extend beyond national boundaries. "The IOC is not a representative body. The members supposedly owe no allegiance to governments or sporting groups. . . . Complete autonomy in all aspects of the Olympic movement is the IOC privilege" (Leiper, 1976, p. 328).

International Federations (IFs), unlike the IOC, are composed of representatives of national federations of respective sports. The IF of each sport represents its highest authority with the powers to suspend, expel, or ban a national body or club in its code which violates its rules. "Currently 28 sports with IFs are featured in the Olympic programme. For the Olympic Games, the IFs, under the overall authority of the IOC, ensure the technical organization of these various sports (Rule 43)" (Olympic Message, No. 1, May 1982, p. 16).

The actions taken by the IOC and some IFs against South Africa on its apartheid sport policy were based on rule No. 1 of the IOC. The rule forbids discrimination against any country or person on grounds of colour, religion or politics. In addition to this rule, the IOC also requires compliance with its rule No. 24. Under this rule SANOC was expected to publicly disassociate itself from governments apartheid sport policy. In the main, the sum total of the actions by some IFs and the IOC have exerted pressures on South Africa to modify its apartheid policy as it relates to sport. In cricket and tennis it would appear that significant changes are taking place towards multiracial sport. The findings of the international bodies of the two sports in 1979 include:

From the point of view of cricket administration there are genuine attempts being made against considerable odds to improve the standard of play amongst nonwhite affiliated bodies and to push ahead with integration at all levels. . . . Every year I go to South Africa to examine the sports situation in that country and I can confirm that, with regard to tennis, the barriers are tumbling one by one, leading to total non-discrimination (SANOC, South Africa and World Sport, 1981, page unnumbered).

The cricket investigation has revealed one of the stumbling blocks in the way of future non-racial sport. It states that

Obstacles in the way of mixed cricket at school relate largely to the educational system whereby the different racial groups are educated almost entirely along separate lines.

This revelation seems to point to the fact that the system of education in any society is an important agent for social change. If multi-racial sport is allowed in South Africa's school system, the future of non-racial sport is more likely to be improved.

In an examination of the actions of the IOC on the South African apartheid sport, it is evident that they have contributed to the changing trend. It is observed that ". . . the fame and prestige of the Olympic Games obligates the IOC to a certain degree of accountability for its actions" (Leiper, 1976, p. 328). This obligation might have led the IOC to reverse its earlier decision of allowing South Africa to enter for the Mexico Olympics of 1968. It would therefore appear that the manner in which the IOC enforces its rules in the apartheid policy in South Africa's sport has been lukewarm. In other words,

If the IOC had pursued a strong policy of implementing its rules prohibiting political manipulation of all allied groups, it may well have avoided many of the unpleasant situations with which it was confronted in the last twenty years (Leiper, 1976, p. 339).

The IOC remains one of the highly regarded international sport organizations in the world despite its shortcomings. This may be due to its unparalleled record of longevity. It may also be due to the realization that the IOC has survived some of the political problems which have not

been of its own making. Indeed the IOC is still looked upon as a judge in the case of South Africa's application to rejoin the Olympic movement.

The Supreme Council for Sports in Africa

The actions of the SCSA on the South African apartheid sports policy are in keeping with one of the goals of the SCSA, "to prevent any form of racial, religious or political discrimination in sports, with regard to a country or an individual" (SCSA, The Statutes of the SCSA, 1979, article 3[9]). The establishment of the SCSA in 1966 coincided with

. . . the storm, which gathered force in 1966 and eventually ripped South Africa from the heart of the global sports map. . . . The rebirth of SAN-ROC meant trouble for South African sports . . . the South African issue was raised in four international federations as well as the IOC in 1966. Sports relations with six countries were challenged (Lapchick, 1975, pp. 72-73).

Under such circumstances the SCSA found an atmosphere conducive to its objective of fighting against racial discrimination in South Africa's sport. The actions of the SCSA on this issue are regarded as "merely reacting to an intolerable situation created by the apartheid policies of South Africa" (Ordia, Sports and Politics - Sports and Government . . . 1982, p. 1). Apartheid sport policy is a political policy which the SCSA opposes from its own perspective. "The people who organized the opposition to South Africa in international sport were not creating an 'intrusion' of politics. They were making a political answer to athletic apartheid, a policy thriving on Olympic institutions" (Kanin, 1981, p. 98). The actions of the Yaounde, Cameroon based organization have been persistent and loud in agitation for non-racial sport in South Africa, since its inception up to the present time. There are some dominant characteristics and actors observable from the record of the SCSA, which include the following. First, the use of diplomat channels in the pursuit of its

cause. This is evident in its correspondence to heads of some national governments such as the British Prime Minister, Mrs. Thatcher, in connection with the "British Lions" rugby tour of South Africa in 1980. In 1982 a similar letter was written to President Regan of the United States regarding the granting of visas to members of the Springbok rugby team which visited the US for a number of private matches. These types of actions result entirely from political considerations. Second, the actions of the SCSA are based on the policy of non-violence. When it called for the boycott of the 1976 Montreal Olympics there is no evidence to suggest that its approach was violent. The actions were however militant which served as a medium of information on the evils of apartheid in sport to an Olympic audience. Third, the SCSA advocates for the isolation of South Africa from international sport as an effective approach of getting a change in the apartheid sport of South Africa. The token concessions given by some white sport bodies when their participation at international events are threatened suggest the effectiveness of the isolationist theory. Also, the huge sum of money expended to entice some sportsmen to compete against South Africans inside and outside the country equally point to their love for international participation. This practice is usually adopted in order to get out of isolation. Fourth, among the actors in the fold of the SCSA on its fight against apartheid in South Africa, two have been prominent up to 1979. They were Mr. Abraham Ordia (now Chief Abraham Ordia), the President of the Council, and Mr. Jean Claud Ganga, its first Secretary until 1979. By virtue of their offices in the Council they were frequently required to present the views of the SCSA against apartheid in sport. They have been effective largely due to their personal knowledge of the problems of apartheid and their tireless determination to oppose it.

In 1980 Chief Ordia was re-elected President of the SCSA, while Mr. Ganga was replaced by Mr. Amadou Lamine Ba. The re-election of Chief Ordia is a recognition of the value of his services to the overall position of the organization. He has successfully given a dynamic leadership to the Council. African sport has made an impact at the international level during his leadership of the Council. His personal commitment to the anti-apartheid struggles has been noticed by some international reporters. "Ordia whose first initials are A.A. [was] long ago dubbed 'Anti-Apartheid'" (Afrosport, November/December, 1981, p. 13).

Anti-apartheid Movement In New Zealand and Nigeria's Relations

Many anti-apartheid movements have expressed opposition to the racial discrimination in South Africa's sport in different parts of the world. These movements have taken actions relative to the local conditions in their respective countries. A brief examination of the anti-apartheid movement in New Zealand and Nigeria's relations has been selected for a number of reasons. First, New Zealand as a country appears to be a target of most of the anti-apartheid protests during the period under study. Second, when Nigeria alone withdrew from the 1978 Edmonton Commonwealth Games, it was because of New Zealand.

The first protest group outside of South Africa whose actions directly or indirectly relate to apartheid sport of South Africa was in New Zealand. In 1958, when the New Zealand Rugby Football Union (NZRFU) announced that it would exclude the Maori members of its "All-Black" rugby team which would tour South Africa in 1960, the first protest started. The first movement Citizens' All Black Tour Association (CABTA) which was inaugurated in 1959 protested against the exclusion of the nonwhite New Zealanders. The CABTA disbanded after a year of its existence. Other movements which fought against sporting contact with South Africa

because of her apartheid sport policy included the Citizens' Association for Racial Equality (CARE), New Zealand University Students' Association, and the Federation of Labour (FOL). These bodies sponsored one coordinating body in 1970 under the name "HALT ALL RACISTS TOURS (HART).

HART

HART is dedicated to ending racial discrimination in South African sport. There is no racial discrimination as such in New Zealand sport, but the New Zealand Rugby Football Union, in order to satisfy the South Africans, excluded its nonwhite players. By such actions the NZRFU indirectly practise racial discrimination. HART put up what was considered as the largest mass mobilization in New Zealand's history in July 1981. This involved about 150,000 people in many centres who demonstrated against South Africa's Springbok rugby team.

The New Zealand anti-apartheid movement struck a blow against apartheid with its massive campaign against the Springbok tour. . . . This is the most practical support that New Zealanders can give to the struggle for liberation in South Africa (AMANDLA, [Wellington], July/December 1981, back page).

In appreciation of this demonstration against the Springbok, and as a recognition of the efforts of HART to bring an end to apartheid sport policy in South Africa, the Government of Nigeria extended an invitation for two New Zealanders to visit Nigeria. The invitation which was made public on the occasion of the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in October 1981 in Melbourne, Australia, covered travel and accommodation expenses. HART appointed two of its officials for the journey. "Trevor Richards, International Affairs Officer, and Kirch Cuthbert from Auckland HART were selected as representatives. They left mid-October [1982]" (AMANDLA, [Wellington], 1982, back page. A part of the report during the friendly visit states that

The New Zealand anti-apartheid movement has called on Nigeria to establish a high commission in Wellington, to assist the anti-apartheid cause in that country. Speaking at a news conference to mark the end of their nine-day visit to Nigeria, Mr. Trevor Richards and Mrs. Yvonne Cuthbert, said that international pressure in New Zealand by many governments, including Nigeria, had helped to force many New Zealanders to realise the evils of apartheid, and called for sustained pressure from international community against apartheid (West Africa, [London], 24 January 1983, p. 235).

It is relevant to state that the New Zealand High Commissioner in London, England, and the Nigeria High Commissioner in Canberra, Australia, had earlier in 1982 been accredited to establish diplomatic relations with Nigeria, and New Zealand respectively by their home governments. The call on Nigeria to establish a High Commission in Wellington appear to confirm the remarks made by "the speaker of the New Zealand Parliament, Sir Richard Harrison, . . . at a dinner organized in his honour . . . in Lagos . . . that dialogue at the closest level between both countries was overdue . . ." (News Review Federal Government of Nigeria [Ottawa], 28 February 1982, p. 6). Among other things, it would appear that the Nigerian government invitation which enabled members of HART to visit that African country serves as an encouragement to anti-apartheid movements in New Zealand. It has also demonstrated that the New Zealand factor in Nigeria's boycott actions in the 1970's has not meant any hatred for that country. Rather, it has indicated the commitment of Nigeria in her fight against apartheid policy in South Africa's sport.

An explanation for the reason why Nigeria selected New Zealand alone as a reason for her boycott actions and not other countries such as Britain, France, West Germany and the United States, to name only a few whose nationals maintain sporting links with South Africa may be inferred from the comments made by Dr. Adegbite, the President NOC of Nigeria, quoted below:

I suppose New Zealand maybe in a way has over dramatized their own

involvement, because officially the government of New Zealand under the present ruling party did not condemn these links. They have been pleading that they have no control over their sport associations,. . . England say they abhor what is happening, many other countries say so. . . . [However, New Zealand] . . . now say they themselves are against apartheid. . . . [In the past] New Zealand appeared to be ready to put up itself as a punching bag for South Africa like a scapegoat, so it is of their own making (Interview with Dr. Adegbite, Lagos, 28 July 1982).

It is relevant to observe that the situation was not the same during the administration of the Labour party. It was noted by the Prime Minister of New Zealand as early as 1972 that

'The Government does insist that sporting bodies observe certain standards of conduct, the central principle of which is that merit and no other factor shall be the sole determinant in the selection of national teams'. . . . On 24 November 1972, a few days before General Election, the Minister of Foreign Affairs announced New Zealand's ratification of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination . . . (Thompson, 1975, pp. 95-96).

The support for the code of conduct on the Gleneagles Declaration by New Zealand on 6 October 1982 in Brisbane represents an increasing support for anti-apartheid sport policy of the CGF member nations.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of the study was to write an accurate analytic history of the public posture assumed and the actions taken by Nigeria on the South African apartheid sport policy from 1960 to 1982. A historical review of the South African apartheid sport policy was presented. It was followed by a background to Nigeria's foreign policy with reference to South Africa's apartheid sport policy. The actions taken by Nigeria on the issue between 1960 and 1982 were examined.

The historical method was used; with data collected from: correspondence; library and archival research; films; questionnaires; personal interviews; government publications; newspapers; journal publications; and theses and dissertations. Following external and internal criticism, analysis and synthesis of the data, the narrative description was undertaken; this was based on interpretations, inferences and generalizations related to the problem and the hypotheses of the study.

SUMMARY

The earliest cause of conflict between the original nonwhite inhabitants of South Africa and the white settlers was land. It became important in a number of the laws which the government established to maintain its white supremacy and apartheid policies. Every institution in that society including sport is expected to be operated within the framework of government policies.

There has not been direct legislation preventing multiracial sport in South Africa. But government policies do not favour mixed sport. Some laws provide the basis for persecution of those who advocate

non-racial sport in that country.

Racial discrimination conflicts with the rules and objectives of most international organizations. These bodies include the UN, the Commonwealth, the OAU, the IOC, the SCSA and many IFs. Nigeria is a member of these bodies.

Some movements inside South Africa have always advocated non-racial sport. In 1956 the first success of a non-racial body was achieved. The non-racial South African Table Tennis Board (SATTB) was recognized by the International Table Tennis Federation (ITTF) in preference to the racial South African Table Tennis Union (SATTU). SACOS and SAN-ROC represent the interest of non-racial sports bodies, while SANOC represents the white racial organizations.

By 1970, through the pressures of a number of the international organizations identified earlier, South Africa has been expelled from the Olympic movement and either barred or expelled from most international sport competitions. The primary reason was its racial discrimination in sports.

Between 1960 and 1982, Nigeria's actions of opposition to South Africa's apartheid policies were manifested through her membership in the various international organizations in accordance with her foreign policy principles against racial discrimination in all its manifestations. Some of the actions include: the role played by Nigerians as chairmen of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid most of the years between 1970 and the present, in the establishment of resolutions against apartheid in sport; Nigeria has voted consistently for UN resolutions against apartheid sport; she hosted the World Conference on Action against Apartheid in 1977; she was a party to the 1977 Gleneagles Declaration; she initiated the establishment of the code of conduct to the Gleneagles

Declaration, and the amendment of the constitution of the CGF.

Some other actions relating to the issue of apartheid sport in South Africa include the boycotting of a number of international sport competitions, and meetings of some international federations by Nigerian teams, and sports administrators respectively. The 1976 Montreal Olympics and the 1978 Edmonton Commonwealth Games were most conspicuous because of their international significance. These boycott actions have had a negative effect on the sport environment in Nigeria in the latter part of the 1970's.

In South Africa the isolation from international sports has brought about some changes which consist of special dispensations to allow the inclusion of a few blacks in some national teams; the attendance of multi-racial audiences at some sport competitions; and the entry of black sportsmen into some clubs during certain sports events. The isolation has also led to further requests and pressures from an increasing number of the white population for appropriate government action which will facilitate non-racial sport. As a consequence, in May 1981, the South Africa Minister of National Education announced government approval of,

. . . the amendment of the relevant sections of the following acts in order to abolish their applicability to sport situations: the Liquor Act (No. 87 of 1977), the Group Areas Act (No. 36 of 1966) and the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act (No. 25 of 1945). As far as the Act on the Allocation of Separate Facilities is concerned, the Government found itself in agreement with view of Committee that an in-depth investigation was desirable also to include aspects other than sport (SANOC, South Africa and World Sport, No. 7, 1981, last page).

The inconclusiveness of the government concessions, and the retention of apartheid principles in them have brought about the slogan, "there can be no normal sport in an abnormal society".

CONCLUSION

The outcomes of the study in regard to the hypotheses formulated for interpretation and conclusions are as follows:

First, the actions of Nigeria relating to the apartheid sport policy in South Africa have been in keeping with her foreign policy principles on apartheid. The Sharpeville incident which coincided with Nigeria's year of independence appear to have alerted the country with the largest concentration of black population in the world. Subsequently she was vigilant in her efforts to oppose racial discrimination in all its manifestations. When racial discrimination in South Africa's sport became an open issue Nigeria adopted the method she saw best suited to deal with it in line with her foreign policy objectives.

Second, Nigeria's actions have been manifested through the international organizations of which she is a member. They include the OAU, SCSA, the Commonwealth, CGF, the UN, and a number of IFs. Some of these organizations have taken decisive actions as a countervailing force to exert pressure on South Africa to change her apartheid sport policy. The study reveals that the role of Nigeria in some of these organizations has been very significant. For example, she has played a leadership role in the SCSA where Chief Abraham Ordia has been the President for over 15 years. In the IOC a Nigerian, Sir Ademola was a member of the fact-finding IOC commission to South Africa in 1967. He also proposed the motion which banned South Africa from the Olympic movement because of her racial discrimination in sport. There are other examples in the chairmanship of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid.

Third, it is evident that the boycotts of international competitions by Nigeria for reasons relating to the South African apartheid policy in sport

have had negative effects on the sports environment in Nigeria. Some athletes and officials whose hopes could not be realized were frustrated; some training programmes could not be executed because of the discouragement; these have had a negative impact on the human, economic and other national resources of Nigeria. They have also affected her standing in the medal tables of the Olympic Games and the Commonwealth Games.

While the above adverse effects are established facts some other effects have been identified. Nigeria's actions have contributed significantly to the fight against the despicable evil of apartheid sport in the larger interest of human rights. These actions have succeeded in a number of ways; they include, the establishment of the code of conduct to the Gleneagles Agreement; the isolation of South Africa from international sport events; and some changes in South Africa's apartheid policy in sport. A consideration of this point of view might serve as consolation to those who might be personally aggrieved by some of the effects of the boycott actions.

RECOMMENDATIONS

It is recommended that:

1. Further studies be carried out to investigate whether or not the amendments to the Acts announced by South Africa's Minister of National Education in May 1981, have been put into practice. If they have, what have been the implications, and if they have not, what are the planned procedures, if any, for their implementation?
2. The National and States Sport Associations of Nigeria should maintain logbooks for accurate records of their activities and details about their office holders updated as soon as events take place. Such records should form a part of the handing over notes to subsequent office holders, so that information relating to respective associations

can be conveniently located and made available as the needs may arise.

3. The Nigerian news media should endeavour to reflect more of critical public comments on issues relating to sport in order to reflect the increasing public and government interest and support for sport.
4. The government of Nigeria should make it a policy to provide for ombudsmen to advise it in the event of any issue on domestic and international sport events. The composition of the ombudsmen should include a representative of the National Olympic Committee, appropriate national sports associations, and individuals with relevant professional knowledge in international sports issues. The advice of this body should be taken into consideration before government decisions on issues such as boycotts of international sport events on the basis of any reason.
5. A study should also be undertaken to examine New Zealand's stance on South Africa's apartheid policy with regard to sport.

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- Ademola, Sir. Adetokunbo. The first African member of the I.O.C., one of the three members of the I.O.C. Commission to South Africa in 1967; the first Nigerian Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Nigeria; the first president N.O.C., and currently Patron N.O.C., Lagos. Interview: 26 July, 1982.
- Afolabi, Mr. J.A. Director, Political Relations and Cultural Affairs, Ministry of External Affairs, Lagos. Interview: 29 July, 1982.
- Alabi, Mr. M.A. Ag. Principal Secretary (Sports Development) N.S.C., Lagos. Interview: 23 July, 1982.
- Dent, Dr. Ivor. Vice-President of Canadian Commonwealth Games Association. Interview: 11 January 1983.
- Dent, Dr. Ivor. Former Mayor of the City of Edmonton, when the 1978 Commonwealth Games were awarded to the city in 1972. A Vice-Chairman of the Canadian Commonwealth Games Association. Member of the Commonwealth Games Federation. Interview: 19 January, 1983.
- Edo, Mr. S. Coach Player National Champion Badminton, Oyo State Sport Council, Ibadan. Interview: 22 July, 1982.
- Eleyae, Dr. Awoture. Deputy Director of Sports N.S.C., Principal National Institute for Sports, Lagos; Chairman UNESCO Inter-Governmental Council on Physical Education and Sport. Interview: 27 July, 1982.
- Enajakpo, Mr. Dan. Assistant Director of Sports N.S.C., Lagos. Interview: 27 July, 1982.
- Imonete, Mr. David. Lawn Tennis 1978 Africa Singles Champion, 1982. Kaduna Clay Court Champion. Victim of 1980 boycott of Davis Cup for Israel's links with South Africa. Societe General Bank, Lagos. Interview: 22 July, 1982.
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- Lawanson, Mr. Ayo. Secretary General Nigeria AAA N.S.C., Lagos. Interview: 26 July, 1982.

- Makafan, Mr. J.S. Staff Inspector, Physical Education and Sports, Kaduna State Ministry of Education. Interview: 10 July, 1982.
- Nebedum, Miss Uche. Female National Coach Basketball N.S.C., Lagos, Former National Basketball Player. Interview: 23 July, 1982.
- Obasogie, Mr. Godwin. Athlete 110m High Hurdle. National Champion 1975-78; All-African Games Gold Medalist 1978, U.S.A. Big 8 Champion, Nebraska 1976, with time of 13.55 seconds. He was a victim of the boycotts of 1976 Olympics and 1978 Commonwealth Games. Interview: 21 July, 1982.
- Okodogbe, Mr. Peter. Athlete 100m and 200m track. National Champion 100m 1978-81; Gold Medalist Friendship Games, Dakar 100m in 10 seconds, U.S.A. Pacific Ten meet 1981; 2nd position in 100m in 10 seconds. He was a witness of the 1976 Olympic boycott as a young observer athlete and a victim of the 1978 Commonwealth Games withdrawal. Interview: 22 July, 1982.
- Olishile, Mr. Ag. Principal Organizing Secretary N.S.C., Lagos. Interview: 23 July, 1982.
- Omoruan, Dr. J. Head of Department of Physical and Health Education, University of Lagos, Former Chairman Nigeria Volleyball Association, Current Vice-President Africa Volleyball Federation. Interview: 23 July, 1982.
- Ramsamy, Sam. Chairman, SAN-ROC, London. Interview: 5 July, 1982.

THESES AND DISSERTATIONS

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- Louw, Johan. Sport and Racial Relations in South Africa. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Alberta, 1977.

APPENDIX 1

CORRESPONDENCE

APPENDIX 1

CORRESPONDENCE

1. The Honourable Minister
Federal Ministry of Social Development
Youths, Sports and Culture
Lagos, Nigeria
2. The High Commissioner
Nigeria High Commission
295 Metcalfe Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K2P 1R9
3. Mr. Abraham A. Ordia, M.B.E.
President, S.C.S.A.
c/o National Sports Commission
P.O. Box 145
Lagos, Nigeria
4. Sir Adetokunbo Ademola
I.O.C. Member
P.O. Box 6967
Lagos, Nigeria
5. The Honourable Minister
Federal Ministry of Social Development
Youths, Sports and Culture
Lagos, Nigeria
6. The Honourable Minister
Federal Ministry of External Affairs
Lagos, Nigeria
7. The Lateef Adegbite
President, Nigeria Olympic Committee
P.O. Box 7741
Lagos, Nigeria
8. Mr. Abraham Ordia, M.B.E.
President, S.C.S.A.
c/o National Sports Commission
P.O. Box 145
Lagos, Nigeria
9. Director of Sports
National Sports Commission
P.O. Box 145
Lagos, Nigeria

10. Professor A. Fatile
Faculty of Education
Alimadu Bello University
Zaria, Nigeria
11. Secretary
(Twenty) National Amateur Sports Association
Lagos, Nigeria
12. Letter to Respondents of Questionnaire on Film: Apartheid
Sport and Politics - South Africa
13. First letter to South African Embassy, Ottawa
14. Reply from South African Embassy, Ottawa
15. Acknowledgement to South African Embassy, Ottawa
16. H.E. Alhaji Yusuf Maitama Sule
The Chairman
United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid
Permanent Mission of Nigeria to the United Nations
New York, N.Y. 10017
U.S.A.
17. Mr. Sam Ramsamy, Chairman
South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SAN-ROC)
30 Seymour Street
London, W1, England
18. The Director General
Nigerian Institute of International Affairs
Lagos, Nigeria
19. Hon. Minister, Professor I.S. Audu
Federal Ministry of External Affairs
Lagos, Nigeria
20. Rt. Hon. Sir Adetokumbo Ademola,
P.O. Box 6967
Lagos, Nigeria
21. The Hon. Alhaji Ahmed, Sole Administrator
National Sports Commission
Lagos, Nigeria
22. The Director General, N.I.I.A.
Victoria Island
GPO Box 1727
Lagos, Nigeria.
23. Chief Abraham Ordia, OFR, M.BE
President SCSA
P.O. Box 642
Lagos, Nigeria

24. Dr. Lateef Adegbite
President
Nigeria Olympic Committee
P.O. Box 7741
Lagos, Nigeria
25. The Secretary
Commonwealth Games Federation
12 Buckingham Street
London, England
WC2N 6DJ



THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
FACULTY OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND RECREATION
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

October 29, 1981

The Honourable Minister
Federal Ministry of Social Development,
Youths, Sports and Culture
Lagos, Nigeria

Dear Sir:

Request for relevant materials towards a research titled:
Sports and Politics: the Stance of Nigeria on the South
African Apartheid Policy in Sports.

I am currently engaged in a research indicated on the title of this letter.

The purpose of the study is to examine and analyze the socio-political position and implications of the stance of Nigeria on the South African apartheid policy in sports.

This study has been approved by the Department of Physical Education of the University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada; and it is felt that the study will be of significant interest to Nigeria.

I should be grateful if you would kindly send to me, by Air Mail, materials you consider relevant to this topic, for example,

- (a) various policy statements of Nigeria on the South African apartheid policy in sports,
- (b) actions taken by Nigeria to exert pressure against the apartheid policy, and

.../2

-2-

- (c) your personal comments and suggestions related to the ways that an end might be brought to South African apartheid policy in sports.

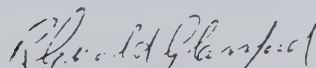
Your kind response will be sincerely appreciated.

Yours sincerely,



J.B. Agbogun
Ph.D. Candidate
University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta, Canada

Acknowledged and approved



R. Gerald Glassford
Supervisor of J.B. Agbogun's
Ph.D. Programme
Dean, Faculty of Physical
Education and Recreation



THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
FACULTY OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND RECREATION
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

October 29, 1981

The High Commissioner
Nigeria High. Commission
295 Metcalfe Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K2P 1R9

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Sports and Politics: the Stance of Nigeria on the South
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This study has been approved by the Department of Physical Education of the University of Alberta, Edmonton; and it is felt that the study will be of significant interest to Nigeria.

I should be grateful if you would kindly send to me materials you consider relevant to this topic, for example,

- (a) various policy statements of Nigeria on the South African apartheid policy in sports,
- (b) actions taken by Nigeria to exert pressure against the apartheid policy,


.../2

- (c) the full texts of the official statements of Nigeria on its withdrawal from the 1976 Montreal Olympic Games in Canada, and the 1978 boycott of the XI Commonwealth Games, Edmonton, Canada, and
- (d) the foreign policy of Nigeria, before, during and after the military administration, as they relate to the South African apartheid policy.

Any materials you make available to me will be duly acknowledged and used for this study as may be found appropriate.

Your kind and early response will be sincerely appreciated.

Yours sincerely,



J.B. Agbogun
Ph.D. Candidate,
University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta

Acknowledged and approved



R. Gerald Glassford
Supervisor of J.B. Agbogun's
Ph.D. Programme
Dean, Faculty of Physical Education
and Recreation



THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
FACULTY OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND RECREATION
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

October 29, 1981

Mr. Abraham A. Ordia, M.B.E.
President, S.C.S.A.
c/o National Sports Commission
P.O. Box 145
Lagos, Nigeria

Dear Sir:

Request for relevant materials towards a research titled:
Sports and Politics: the Stance of Nigeria on the South
African Apartheid Policy in Sports.

I am currently engaged in a research indicated on the title of this letter.

The purpose of the study is to examine and analyze the socio-political position and the implications of the stance of Nigeria on the South African apartheid policy in sports.

This study has been approved by the Department of Physical Education of the University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada; and it is felt that the study will be of significant interest to Nigeria and the Supreme Council for Sports in Africa (SCSA).

Realizing your commitment as a Nigerian and as the President of the SCSA to the need to create pressure against the South African apartheid policy in sports, I would ask if you would be kind enough to share your wealth of knowledge and experience with me to ensure the success of this study.

I should therefore be grateful if you would kindly send to me, by Air Mail, materials you consider relevant to this topic, for example,


.../2

- (a) various policy statements of Nigeria on the South African apartheid policy in sports,
- (b) information on actions taken by Nigeria to exert pressure against the apartheid policy,
- (c) the SCSA policies with respect to the South African situations and actions taken by SCSA, and
- (d) your personal comments and suggestions relative to the ways that an end may be brought to South African apartheid policy in sports.

Any materials you make available will be duly acknowledged and credited to you as such, and I also hope to make available to you the outcome of the study.

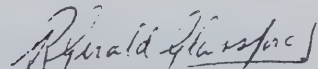
Your kind and early response will be sincerely appreciated.

Yours sincerely,



J.B. Agbogun
Ph.D. Candidate
University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta, Canada

Acknowledged and approved



R. Gerald Glassford
Supervisor of J.B. Agbogun's Ph.D.
Programme
Dean, Faculty of Physical Education
and Recreation

Department of Physical Education
University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta
Canada T6G 2H9

May 31, 1982

Sir Adetokunbo Ademola
P.O. Box 6967
LAGOS, Nigeria

Dear Sir:

Doctoral Research on Sport and Politics: The Stance of Nigeria on
the South African Apartheid Policy in Sport. By J.B. Agbogun

I am currently conducting research for my doctoral dissertation at the University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada. Specifically, I am examining the stance of Nigeria on the South African apartheid policy in sport.

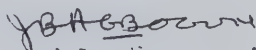
I will be in Lagos from July 19 to 30, 1982 and August 12 to 13, 1982; with the sole purpose of collecting data for this study. In this regard, I would like to request an interview with you in order to assist me with my research. I would be grateful if you would please, choose the time which best suits your schedule from the dates stated above.

In preparation, I have enclosed a questionnaire which will form the basis of my interview with you and I would be much obliged if you would take time from what I know is a very busy schedule to complete and please return it to me by air mail in the enclosed self-addressed envelope.

I look forward to a reply at your earliest convenience.

Thank you.

Yours sincerely,



Jacob B. Agbogun
Doctoral Student
University of Alberta

JBA/rlbe
Enclosures

Department of Physical Education
University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta
Canada T6G 2H9

May 31, 1982

Honourable Minister
Federal Ministry of Social Development
Youth, Sport and Culture

LAGOS, Nigeria

Dear Sir:

Doctoral Research on Sport and Politics: The Stance of Nigeria on
the South African Apartheid Policy in Sport. By J.B. Agbogun

In reference to my earlier letter on this subject dated October 29, 1981 sent by registered air postage, I realise that important state matters might have prevented a reply.

However, I would like to bring your attention once again to the fact that I will be in Lagos from July 19 to 30 and August 12 to 13, of this year with the sole purpose of collecting data for the above study. In this regard, I would like to request an interview with you to assist me with my research. I would be grateful if you would choose the time which best suits your schedule from the dates stated above.

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I look forward to a reply at your earliest convenience.

Thank you.

Yours truly,



Jacob B. Agbogun
Doctoral Student
University of Alberta

JBA*rlbe
Enclosures

Department of Physical Education
University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta
Canada T6G 2H9

May 31, 1982

Honourable Minister
Federal Ministry of External Affairs

LAGOS, Nigeria

Dear Sir:

Doctoral Research on Sport and Politics: The Stance of Nigeria on
the South African Apartheid Policy in Sport. By J.B. Agbogun.

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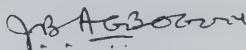
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Thank you.

Yours truly,



Jacob B. Agbogun
Doctoral Student
University of Alberta

JBA/rlbe
Enclosures

Department of Physical Education
University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta
Canada T6G 2H9

May 31, 1982

Dr. Lateef O. Adegbite
President
Nigeria Olympic Committee
P.O. Box 7741
LAGOS, Nigeria

Dear Sir:

Doctoral Research on Sport and Politics: The Stance of Nigeria on
the South African Apartheid Policy in Sport. By J.B. Agbogun

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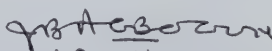
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I look forward to a reply at your earliest convenience.

Thank you.

Yours truly,



Jacob B. Agbogun
Doctoral Student
University of Alberta

JBA*rlbe
Enclosures

Department of Physical Education
University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta
Canada T6G 2H9

May 31, 1982

Mr. Abraham Ordia
President, S.C.S.A.
c/o National Sports Commission
P.O. Box 145
LAGOS, Nigeria

Dear Sir:

Doctoral Research on Sport and Politics: The Stance of Nigeria on
the South African Apartheid Policy in Sport. By J.B. Agbogun

In reference to my earlier letter on this subject dated October 29, 1981, sent by registered air postage, I realize that important state matters might have prevented a reply.

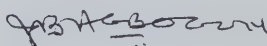
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I look forward to a reply at your earliest convenience.

Thank you.

Yours sincerely,



Jacob B. Agbogun
Doctoral Student
University of Alberta

JBA/rlbe
Enclosures

Department of Physical Education
University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta
Canada T6G 2H9

May 31, 1982

The Director of Sports
National Sports Commission
P.O. Box 145
LAGOS, Nigeria

Dear Sir:

Doctoral Research on Sport and Politics: The Stance of Nigeria on
the South African Apartheid Policy in Sport. By J.B. Agbogun

I am currently conducting research for my doctoral dissertation at the University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada. Specifically, I am examining the stance of Nigeria on the South African apartheid policy in sport.

I will be in Lagos from July 19 to 30 and August 12 to 13 of this year with the sole purpose of collecting data for the above study. In this regard, I am requesting an interview with you to assist me with my research. Please, choose the time which best suits your schedule from the dates stated above.

In preparation, I have enclosed one set of questionnaire No. Q.015 which will form the basis of my interview with you. In addition, I have enclosed different sets of questionnaires addressed to each of the National Amateur Sports Associations under the management of the N.S.C.

I would be grateful if you would kindly deliver the addressed envelopes containing questionnaires to each of the National associations. Please, kindly let the Secretaries of each association complete the questionnaires as applicable and return them to you.

I will personally be in Lagos in July of this year to pick up the completed questionnaires.

I realize that this is an extremely demanding task I am entrusting in your hands, but my circumstances do not leave me with any alternative.


Director of Sports
National Sports Commission

Page 2.

Your cooperation in this study is sincerely appreciated.

I look forward to your reply.

Yours truly,



Jacob B. Agbogun
Doctoral Student
University of Alberta

*rlbe
Enclosures

Department of Physical Education
University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta
Canada T6G 2H9

May 31, 1982

Professor A. Fatile
Faculty of Education
Ahmadu Bello University
ZARIA, Nigeria

Dear Dr. Fatile:

Questionnaire on Research, Sport and Politics: The Stance of Nigeria on the South African Apartheid Policy in Sport. By J.B. Agbogun.

I am currently conducting research on the subject indicated at the title of this letter.

Towards this end, I enclose the following:

- (a) Two sets of questionnaires No. Q.016 for completion in respect of Nigerian Universities Games Association (NUGA), and the Nigerian Association of Physical Health, Education and Recreation (NAPHER). In your capacity as the recent past Chairman of NUGA, and as the current Secretary of NAPHER, I trust that you will be kind enough to complete them as applicable.
- (b) Four sets of questionnaire No. Q.017 for your coaches and team managers who have worked with, or are currently working with, your teams for an international competition.
- (c) sets of questionnaire No. Q.018 for some of your athletes who have competed or are currently preparing to compete in an international competition.

I realize that this is an extremely demanding task I am entrusting in your hands but my circumstances do not leave me with any alternative. I shall therefore be grateful if you would kindly spare part of your busy schedule to have the questionnaires completed by the respective persons, keep them in the self-addressed envelope for me to pick up personally in July of 1982.

Your cooperation in this study is sincerely appreciated.

Yours sincerely,



Jacob B. Agbogun
Researcher
University of Alberta

JBA/rlbe
Enclosures

Department of Physical Education
University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta
Canada T6G 2H9

May 31, 1982

The Secretary,

P.O. Box 145
National Stadium
Lagos, Nigeria

Dear Sir:

Questionnaire on Research, Sport and Politics: The Stance of Nigeria on the South African Apartheid Policy in Sport. By J.B. Agbogun.

I am currently conducting research on the subject indicated at the title of this letter.

Towards this end, I enclose the following:

- (a) One set of questionnaire No. Q.016 for completion by either the Chairman or Secretary in rest of your association.
- (b) Four sets of questionnaire No. Q.017 for your association's coaches and team managers who have worked or are currently working with your teams for international competitions.
- (c) sets of questionnaire No. Q.018 for your athletes randomly selected. The athletes must have competed in, or are currently preparing to compete in, an international competition.

I realize that this is an extremely demanding task that I am entrusting in your hands but my circumstances do not leave me with any alternative. I shall therefore be grateful if you would kindly spare a portion of your busy time to have the questionnaires completed by the respective persons, collect them and return to me by air post. You may keep them in the provided self-addressed envelope for me to pick up personally in July of 1982, when I am in Lagos.

Your cooperation will be sincerely appreciated.

Yours truly,



Jacob B. Agbogun
Researcher
University of Alberta

JBA/rlbe
Enclosures

Department of Physical
Education
University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta
T6G 2H9

, 1981

Dear Respondent,

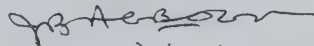
Acknowledgement of Response to the
Questionnaire on Film : Apartheid
Sport and Politics - South Africa

Thank you for your comments/suggestions on the
question: "How can apartheid in sports be changed
in South Africa?".

The points raised in your response are noted.

I hope that I can continue to count on your support
in this attempt at the search for peaceful ways of ending
the South African apartheid policy in sports.

Yours sincerely,



J.B. Agbogun, Investigator
Telephone: (B) 432-5503
(R) 433-3790

Department of Physical Education
University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta
Canada

T6G 2H9

April 29, 1982

The Ambassador
South Africa Embassy

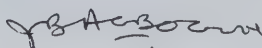
Ottawa, Ontario

Research in Sport and Racial Relations in South Africa: 1970 to 1982.

I am currently carrying out research on the title of this letter.

I should be grateful if you would make available any relevant materials and further sources of information which will enable me to verify and substantiate whatever the developments are.

I look forward to your reply.



Jacob B. Agbogun
Researcher
University of Alberta

JBA*rlbe

AMBASSADE D'AFRIQUE DU SUD
15 PROMENADE SUSSEX
OTTAWA
K1M 1M8



SUID-AFRIKAANSE AMBASSADE
SUSSEXYLAAN 15
OTTAWA
K1M 1M8

SOUTH AFRICAN EMBASSY
15 SUSSEX DRIVE
OTTAWA
K1M 1M8
TELEPHONE (613) 744-0330
TELEX 053-4185

22/1

March 22, 1982

Mr J.B. Agbogun,
Department of Physical Education,
University of Alberta,
EDMONTOn, Alta.
T6G 2H9

Dear Mr Agbogun,

Thank you for your letter of March 8.

We have forwarded to you under separate cover a copy of the chapter on Sport in the South African Yearbook, and also a set of booklets published by the South African National Games and Olympic Association. We trust that these publications will be useful.

Please do not hesitate to contact us again if we could be of further assistance.

Yours sincerely,

W. de Villiers

7 COUNSELLOR (INFORMATION)

Department of Physical Education
University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta, Canada T5G 2H9
April 7, 1982

Information Counsellor
South African Embassy
15 Sussex Drive
Ottawa, Ontario, Canada
K1M 1M8

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF RECEIPT OF PUBLICATIONS ON SPORT IN SOUTH AFRICA

With reference to your letter No. 22/1 dated March 22, 1982, I hereby acknowledge with thanks the receipt of the publications on sport including the booklets by the South African National Games and Olympic Association.

They will be valuable for my research on the changing race relations in Sport in South Africa.

If you have additional information during the next few months up to the end of 1982, I will appreciate it very much if you would be kind enough to let me have them.

Thank you.



J.B. Agbógun, Researcher

Department of Physical Education
The University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta
Canada, T6G 2H9

Special Delivery Expres

May 14, 1982

H.E. Alhaji Yusuf Maitama Sule
The Chairman
United Nations Special Committee
Against Apartheid
Permanent Mission of Nigeria
to the United Nations
New York, N.Y. 10017
U.S.A.

Dear Sir:

RE: Doctoral Research on Sport and Politics: The
Stance of Nigeria on the South African apartheid
policy in sport. By J.B. Agbogun

I am a Nigerian currently conducting research for my doctoral dissertation at the University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada. I am examining the stance of Nigeria on the South African apartheid policy in sport from 1960 to 1982.

One of the areas I am researching is the role played by Nigeria as a member of various international organizations which have taken action on the South African apartheid policy.

In this regards I would be grateful if you could kindly make available to me the following materials to assist me in my investigation:

- i. Copies of the resolutions of General Assembly of the United Nations which relate to South Africa's apartheid policy in Sport 1960-1982.
- ii. Details of voting by member countries on such resolutions.
- iii. The proceedings at the plenary sessions in which the resolutions were adopted.
- iv. Reports of any special group or seminars on South Africa's apartheid sports.
- v. Any other materials you may consider relevant to this topic.

I look forward to your reply.

Yours faithfully,

J.B. Agbogun

J.B. Agbogun

JBA/ds

Department of Physical Education
The University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta
Canada, T6G 2H9

May 14, 1982

Mr. Sam ~~Ramsay~~, **Chairman**
South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SAN-ROC)
30 Seymour Street
London, WI, England

Dear Sir:

RE: Doctoral Research on the South African Apartheid
Policy in Sports, 1960 - 1982

I am currently conducting research for my doctoral dissertation at the University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada.

One of the areas I am specifically examining is the actions of various international organizations on the South African apartheid sports policy.

In this regard, I would like to request an interview with you in order to learn first hand about the role of SAN-ROC and its allied organizations on this issue.

I will be in London on July 7th and 8th, 1982 with the purpose of collecting data for this study. I would be much obliged if you would take time from your very busy schedule to grant me an interview on either of the two days indicated above.

In the event that you might not be available I would be grateful if you would arrange for me to have an interview with any other person who can speak for your organization. Also I would appreciate very highly if you could make available to me materials you may consider relevant to this topic. I would be delighted to collect them personally during my visit.

I look forward to your reply.

Yours sincerely,



J.B. Agbogun



DEPARTMENT OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION
FACULTY OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND RECREATION
THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA, EDMONTON, CANADA T6G 2H9

June 28, 1982

The Director General
 Nigerian Institute of International Affairs
 Lagos, Nigeria

Dear Sir:

Re: Doctoral Research on Sport and Politics: The Stance of Nigeria on the South African Apartheid Policy in Sport by J.B. Agbogun

I am currently conducting research for my doctoral dissertation at the University of Alberta, Canada. I am examining the stance of Nigeria on the South African apartheid policy in sport from 1960 to 1982.

One of the areas of my investigation is the history of the foreign policy of Nigeria with special reference to apartheid in South Africa.

In this regard, I plan to be in Lagos from July 19 to 30th with the sole purpose of collecting data for my study. I am requesting permission to use the library facilities of your institute and also requesting an interview with you or any of your officials on the topic indicated above during my visit to Lagos.

I would be grateful for your co-operation and assistance in making my visit a success.

Yours faithfully,

J. B. Agbogun

JBA/cs





THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
FACULTY OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND RECREATION
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

September 23, 1982

The Honourable Minister
Professor I.S. Audu
Federal Ministry of External Affairs
LAGOS, NIGERIA

Dear Sir:

Re: In Appreciation of your Co-operation re: Data Collection for
Doctoral Dissertation on "Sport and Politics: the Stance of
Nigeria on the South African Apartheid Policy in Sport."

With reference to my earlier letter to you dated May 31, 1982, and my subsequent visit to Nigeria to collect data for my doctoral dissertation, I wish to express my sincere appreciation for the arrangements you kindly made to facilitate my data collection in your Ministry.

In particular, I wish to place on record that your official, Mr. James Afolabi, Director, P.R.A. Cultural Affairs, granted me audience on July 29, 1982, and he also made available to me for perusal, the files relevant to my investigation.

The co-operation from your Ministry has helped to make my research visit to Nigeria a success. It remains now for me to complete the study based on the data which I have gathered. I hope that if the need arises in the future, I can again count on your co-operation.

Once again, thank you.

Yours sincerely,

J.B. AGBOGUN
PhD Candidate
University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta
Canada

dlr



Plan to attend our International Conference of University Sport July 2-4, 1983
Hosted as part of Universiade '83, World University Games July 1-11, 1983
Edmonton, Alberta, Canada.



THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
FACULTY OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND RECREATION
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

September 23, 1982

The Right Honourable Sir Adetokunbo Ademola
P.O. Box 6967
LAGOS, NIGERIA

Dear Sir:

Re: In Appreciation of your Co-operation re: Data Collection for
Doctoral Dissertation on "Sport and Politics: the Stance of
Nigeria on the South African Apartheid Policy in Sport."

I wish to express my sincere appreciation to you for granting me an interview on July 26, 1982 in connection with my investigation on the stance of Nigeria on the South African apartheid policy in sport.

Your co-operation has helped to make my research visit to Nigeria a success. It remains now for me to complete the study based on the data which I have gathered. I hope that if the need arises in the future, I can again count on your co-operation.

Once again, thank you.

Yours sincerely,

J.B. AGBOGUN
PhD Candidate
University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta
Canada

dlr



Plan to attend our International Conference of University Sport July 2-4, 1983
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Edmonton, Alberta, Canada.



THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
FACULTY OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND RECREATION
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

September 23, 1982

The Honourable Alhaji Ahmed
Sole Administrator
National Sports Commission
P.O. Box 145
LAGOS, NIGERIA

Dear Sir:

Re: In Appreciation of your Co-operation re: Data Collection for
Doctoral Dissertation on "Sport and Politics: the Stance of
Nigeria on the South African Apartheid Policy in Sport."

I wish to express my sincere appreciation for your co-operation in facilitating the distribution of my questionnaire in the National Sports Commission, for my investigation on the stance of Nigeria on the South African apartheid policy in sport.

In particular, I wish to place on record that the actions taken by Messrs. Dan Enajakpo (A.D.O.S.) and M.A. Alabi (Ag. P.A.S. Sports Division) to effect the distribution and collection of my questionnaire were very helpful.

The co-operation from your Commission has helped to make my research visit to Nigeria a success. It remains now for me to complete the study based on the data which I have gathered. I hope that if the need arises in the future, I can again count on your co-operation.

Once again, thank you.

Yours sincerely,

J.B. AGBOGUN
PhD Candidate
University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta

dlr

Universiade '83

Plan to attend our International Conference of University Sport July 2-4, 1983
Hosted as part of Universiade '83, World University Games July 1-11, 1983
Edmonton, Alberta, Canada.



THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
FACULTY OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND RECREATION
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

September 23, 1982

The Director General
Nigerian Institute of International Affairs
Victoria Island
G.P.O. Box 1727
LAGOS, NIGERIA

Dear Sir:

Re: In Appreciation of your Co-operation re: Data Collection for
Doctoral Dissertation on "Sport and Politics: the Stance of
Nigeria on the South African Apartheid Policy in Sport."

I wish to express my appreciation to you for granting me permission to use the library facilities of your Institute between July 26th and 30th, 1982. My research on "Sport and Politics: the stance of Nigeria on the South African apartheid policy in sport" has been aided immeasurably by your co-operation.

In particular, I wish to place on record that your Senior Librarian, Mrs. A.S. Dada, was helpful in making available to me for perusal, materials which were relevant to my investigation.

The co-operation from your Institute has helped to make my research visit to Nigeria a success. It remains now for me to complete the study based on the data which I have gathered. I hope that if the need arises in the future, I can again count on your co-operation.

Once again, thank you.

Yours sincerely,

J.B. AGBOGUN
PhD Candidate
University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta
Canada

dlr



Plan to attend our International Conference of University Sport July 2-4, 1983
Hosted as part of Universiade '83, World University Games July 1-11, 1983
Edmonton, Alberta, Canada.



THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
FACULTY OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND RECREATION
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

September 23, 1982

Chief Abraham Ordia, OFR, MBE.
President S.C.S.A.
P.O. Box 642
LAGOS, NIGERIA

Dear Sir:

Re: In Appreciation of your Co-operation re: Data Collection for
Doctoral Dissertation on "Sport and Politics: the Stance of
Nigeria on the South African Apartheid Policy in Sport."

I wish to express my sincere appreciation to you for granting me an interview on July 22, 1982 in connection with my investigation on the stance of Nigeria on the South African apartheid policy in sport.

Your co-operation has helped to make my research visit to Nigeria a success. It remains now for me to complete the study based on the data which I have gathered. I hope that if the need arises in the future, I can again count on your co-operation.

Once again, thank you.

Yours sincerely,

J.B. Agbogun

J.B. AGBOGUN
PhD Candidate
University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta
Canada

dlr



Plan to attend our International Conference of University Sport July 2-4, 1983
Hosted as part of Universiade '83, World University Games July 1-11, 1983
Edmonton, Alberta, Canada.



THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
FACULTY OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND RECREATION
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

September 23, 1982

Dr. Lateef Adegbite
President
Nigeria Olympic Committee
P.O. Box 7741
LAGOS, NIGERIA

Dear Sir:

Re: In Appreciation of your Co-operation re: Data Collection for
Doctoral Dissertation on "Sport and Politics: the Stance of
Nigeria on the South African Apartheid Policy in Sport."

I wish to express my sincere appreciation to you for granting me an interview on July 28, 1982 in connection with my investigation on the stance of Nigeria on the South African apartheid policy in sport.

Your co-operation has helped to make my research visit to Nigeria a success. It remains now for me to complete the study based on the data which I have gathered. I hope that if the need arises in the future, I can again count on your co-operation.

Once again, thank you.

Yours sincerely,

J.B. AGBOGUN
PhD Candidate
University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta
Canada

dlr



Plan to attend our International Conference of University Sport July 2-4, 1983
Hosted as part of Universiade '83, World University Games July 1-11, 1983
Edmonton, Alberta, Canada.



DEPARTMENT OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION
FACULTY OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND RECREATION
THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA, EDMONTON, CANADA T6G 2H9

October 13, 1982

The Secretary
Commonwealth Games Federation
12 Buckingham Street
London, England
WC2N 6DJ

Dear Sir:

RE: Request for the Old and Ammended Constitution
of the Commonwealth Games

I am a doctoral candidate in the Faculty of Physical Education and Recreation at the University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada, following the history and growth in the Commonwealth Games.

I would be grateful if you could make available one copy of each of the following:

- a. The Constitution of the Commonwealth Games;
- b. Text of the recently adopted ammendments to the constitution of the Commonwealth Games passed during the 1982, XII, Commonwealth Games in Brisbane, Australia;
- c. Notes on the Organization of the Commonwealth Games.

Your cooperation will be sincerely appreciated.

Yours faithfully,

J.B. Agbogun

JBA/lv



APPENDIX 2

QUESTIONNAIRES

APPENDIX 2

QUESTIONNAIRES

- No. Q.011 Sir Ademola Adetakinbo, I.O.C. Member
- No. Q.012 Federal Minister for Social Development, Youth Sport & Culture, and
Federal Minister for External Affairs
- No.Q.013 Dr. Lateef Adegbite, President, Nigeria Olympic Committee
- No.Q.014 Mr. Abraham Ordia, President, S.C.S.A.
- No.Q.015 Director of Sports, National Sports Commission, Lagos, Nigeria
- No.Q.016 Twenty National Amateur Sports Associations of Nigeria, and
Nigerian University Games Association
- No.Q.017 Coaches and Team Managers
- No.Q.018 Athletes
- No.Q.019 On Film: Apartheid Sport and Politics - South Africa

RESEARCH, SPORT AND POLITICS: THE STANCE OF NIGERIA ON THE SOUTH
AFRICAN APARTHEID POLICY IN SPORT, 1960 - 1982

SECTION I

The purpose of this study is to identify and assess the actions of Nigeria on the South African apartheid policy in sport from 1960 to 1982. Specifically, it is to:

1. Identify, analyze, and assess the actions of Nigeria relating to South Africa's racial sport policy, with particular reference to the effect of these actions on Nigerian Sport environment between 1960 and 1982.
2. Examine and determine the effect of Nigeria's actions and the role of Nigeria in the actions taken by international organizations on the South African apartheid policy in sport between 1960 and 1982.

Please answer the questions which follow in the spaces provided. You may use separate papers for your answers. Also attach any other materials you consider relevant to the topic.

Thank you for your cooperation.

2.

SECTION II

1. From your perspective as a former President of N.O.A. (now N.O.C.) for many years, what was the historical involvement of Nigeria with respect to the South African apartheid policy in sport:
 - a) between 1960 and 1966;
 - b) between 1966 and 1982.

2. How would you rate your agreement with Nigeria's withdrawal from the 1976 Montreal Olympics and the 1978 Commonwealth Games in Edmonton. Please mark (x) against your response in the table below:

RESPONSE	1976 OLYMPICS	1978 COMMONWEALTH GAMES
a) Definitely agree		
b) Inclined to agree		
c) Inclined to disagree		
d) Definitely disagree		
e) Non-Committal		

- f) Give any comments on your response:

3. What advice did you give to Nigeria concerning the above boycott actions?

4. What actions should Nigeria take on the South African apartheid policy in sport in order to ensure that Nigerian athletes win at international sports competitions.

6.

SECTION III

The 1968 I.O.C. Grenoble decision was to lift the ban on South Africa in sport. The decision was based on the report of the I.O.C. Commission to South Africa in 1967. As a member of that Commission, what comments can you make about the reversal of the Grenoble decision by the I.O.C. executive?

6. As a non-white member of the I.O.C. commission, how do you understand the statement credited to Reg. Alexander, another member of the commission, which was as follows:

I had imagined that most countries in Africa were in close touch with South African non-whites.... Since arriving here, I have found that nothing could be further from the truth.

(Lapchick, 1975, pp. 99-100).

7. (a) Would you agree with observations from certain quarters that there has been some changes in the South African apartheid policy in sport between 1967 and 1982?
- (b) If so, what would you regard as largely responsible for such changes?

8. (a) Which of the competing organizations (SANOC vs. SANROC/SACOS) representing South African sport will the I.O.C. recognize in a future re-examination of the question of re-admitting South Africa into the Olympic movement?
- (b) What are the reasons for your answer to 8(a)?

9. Assume that South Africa does not change her apartheid policy in sport, and that individuals from countries such as Britain, France, West Germany and New Zealand maintain sporting links with South Africa.

(a) Would you advise Nigeria to continue boycotting all subsequent international sport competitions in which these countries take part?

Yes

No

(Please Delete one)

(b) Give and comment on the reasons for your response.

RESEARCH, SPORT AND POLITICS: THE STANCE OF NIGERIA ON THE SOUTH
AFRICAN APARTHEID POLICY IN SPORT, 1960 - 1982

SECTION I

The purpose of this study is to identify and assess the actions of Nigeria on the South African apartheid policy in sport from 1960 to 1982. Specifically, it is to:

1. Identify, analyze, and assess the actions of Nigeria relating to South Africa's racial sport policy, with particular reference to the effect of these actions on Nigerian Sport environment between 1960 and 1982.
2. Examine and determine the effect of Nigeria's actions and the role of Nigeria in the actions taken by international organizations on the South African apartheid policy in sport between 1960 and 1982.

Please answer the questions which follow in the spaces provided. You may use separate papers for your answers. Also attach any other materials you consider relevant to the topic.

Thank you for your cooperation.

SECTION II

1. (a) What is the stance of Nigeria on the South African apartheid policy in sport?
- (b) Why has this stance been taken?

2. What actions has Nigeria taken to maintain her stance on the South African apartheid policy in sport?

4.

3. What effects have the actions of Nigeria had on South Africa regarding changes in her apartheid sport policy?

4. What effects have the actions of Nigeria had on
- (a) Her domestic and international politics?
 - (b) Her sports programme and achievement record in sport at the international level, particularly, in those sports boycotted by Nigeria.

5. What actions should Nigeria take on the South African apartheid policy in sport in order to ensure that Nigerian athletes win at international competitions?

6. Assume that South Africa does not change her apartheid policy in sport, and that individuals from countries such as Britain, France, West Germany and New Zealand maintain sporting links with South Africa.

- (a) Would you advise Nigeria to continue boycotting all subsequent international sport competitions in which these countries take part?

Yes

No

(Please Delete one)

- (b) Give and comment on the reasons for your response.

RESEARCH, SPORT AND POLITICS: THE STANCE OF NIGERIA ON THE SOUTH
AFRICAN APARTHEID POLICY IN SPORT, 1960 - 1982

SECTION I

The purpose of this study is to identify and assess the actions of Nigeria on the South African apartheid policy in sport from 1960 to 1982. Specifically, it is to:

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2. Examine and determine the effect of Nigeria's actions and the role of Nigeria in the actions taken by international organizations on the South African apartheid policy in sport between 1960 and 1982.

Please answer the questions which follow in the spaces provided. You may use separate papers for your answers. Also attach any other materials you consider relevant to the topic.

Thank you for your cooperation.

SECTION II

1. As the President of the N.O.C. for many years, what was the historical involvement of Nigeria on the South African apartheid policy in sport:

(a) between 1960 and 1966?

(b) between 1966 and 1982?

2. How would you rate your agreement with Nigeria's withdrawal from the 1976 Montreal Olympics and the 1978 Edmonton Commonwealth Games? Please mark (x) against your response in the table below:

RESPONSE	1976 OLYMPICS	1978 COMMONWEALTH GAMES
a) Definitely agree		
b) Inclined to agree		
c) Inclined to disagree		
d) Definitely disagree		
e) Non-Committal		

- f) Give any comments for your response:

3. What advice did you give to Nigeria in your position as President of the N.O.C. on these boycott actions?

4. What effects have the actions of Nigeria had on South Africa regarding changes in her apartheid policy in sport?

5. What effects have the actions of Nigeria had on
- (a) Her domestic and international politics?
 - (b) Her sports programme and achievement record in sport at the international level, particularly in those sports boycotted by Nigeria?

6. What actions should Nigeria take on the South African apartheid policy in sport in order to ensure that Nigerian athletes win at international competitions?

7. Assume that South Africa does not change her apartheid policy in sport, and that individuals from countries such as Britain, France, West Germany and New Zealand maintain sporting links with South Africa.

- (a) Would you advise Nigeria to continue boycotting all subsequent international sport competitions in which these countries take part?

Yes

No

(Please Delete one)

- (b) Give and comment on the reasons for your response.

RESEARCH, SPORT AND POLITICS: THE STANCE OF NIGERIA ON THE SOUTH
AFRICAN APARTHEID POLICY IN SPORT, 1960 - 1982

SECTION I

The purpose of this study is to identify and assess the actions of Nigeria on the South African apartheid policy in sport from 1960 to 1982. Specifically, it is to:

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2. Examine and determine the effect of Nigeria's actions and the role of Nigeria in the actions taken by international organizations on the South African apartheid policy in sport between 1960 and 1982.

Please answer the questions which follow in the spaces provided. You may use separate papers for your answers. Also attach any other materials you consider relevant to the topic.

Thank you for your cooperation.

SECTION II

1. As a former Secretary of the National Sports Commission (National Sports Council in 1960's), and the Secretary General of the N.O.C. for many years, what was the historical development of Nigeria on the South African apartheid policy in sport

(a) Between 1960 and 1966?

(b) Between 1966 and 1982?

2. How would you rate your agreement with Nigeria's withdrawal from the 1976 Montreal Olympics and the 1978 Edmonton Commonwealth Games? Please mark (x) against your response in the table below.

RESPONSE	1976 Olympics	1978 Commonwealth Games
a) Definitely agree		
b) Inclined to agree		
c) Inclined to disagree		
d) Definitely disagree		
e) Non-Committal		

- f) Give any comments for your response:

3. What advice did you give to Nigeria on these boycott actions?

4. What effects have the actions of Nigeria had on South Africa regarding changes in her apartheid policy in sport?

5. What effects have the actions of Nigeria had on:
- (a) her domestic and international politics?
 - (b) her sports programme and achievement record in sport at the international level, particular in those sports boycotted by Nigeria?

6. What actions should Nigeria take on the South African apartheid policy in sport in order to ensure that Nigerian athletes win at international competitions?

SECTION III

7. What are the main objectives of the S.C.S.A. on the South African apartheid policy in sport?

8. What actions has the S.C.S.A. taken in order to achieve the objectives listed in Question 7?

9. (a) Would you agree with observations from certain quarters that there has been some changes in the South African apartheid policy in sport since the 1967 I.O.C. Commission?
- (b) What would you regard as largely responsible for such changes?

11.

10. Assume that South Africa does not change her apartheid policy in sport, and that individuals from countries such as Britain, France, West Germany and New Zealand maintain sporting links with South Africa.

- (a) Would you advise Nigeria to continue boycotting all subsequent international sport competitions in which these countries take part?

Yes No (Please Delete one)

- (b) Give and comment on the reasons for your response.

11. (a) Which of the competing organizations (SANOC vs. SANROC/SACOS) representing South Africa in sport will the S.C.S.A. recognize in a future re-examination of the question relating to re-admitting South Africa into the Olympic movement?

(b) What are the reasons for the answer to 10(a)?

RESEARCH, SPORT AND POLITICS: THE STANCE OF NIGERIA ON THE SOUTH
AFRICAN APARTHEID POLICY IN SPORT, 1960 - 1982

SECTION I

The purpose of this study is to identify and assess the actions of Nigeria on the South African apartheid policy in sport from 1960 to 1982. Specifically, it is to:

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2. Examine and determine the effect of Nigeria's actions and the role of Nigeria in the actions taken by international organizations on the South African apartheid policy in sport between 1960 and 1982.

Please answer the questions which follow in the spaces provided. You may use separate papers for your answers. Also attach any other materials you consider relevant to the topic.

Thank you for your cooperation.

SECTION II

1. As the Director of Sports of the N.S.C., what was the historical involvement of Nigeria on the South African apartheid policy in sport:

(a) between 1960 and 1966?

(b) between 1966 and 1982?

2. Give details of the international competitions in which you have served as an official of the N.S.C.. Use the table below for your answer.

DATE OR YEAR	VENUE	INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION	NAME OF TEAM OR ATHLETE	PERFORMANCE	PLACING

3. How would you rate your agreement with Nigeria's withdrawal from the 1976 Montreal Olympics and the 1978 Edmonton Commonwealth Games? Please mark (x) against your response in the table below.

RESPONSE	1976 OLYMPICS	1978 COMMONWEALTH GAMES
a) Definitely agree		
b) Inclined to Agree		
c) Inclined to Disagree		
d) Definitely Disagree		
e) Non-Committal		

- (f) Give any comments for your response:

4. What advice did you give to Nigeria in your position as Director of Sports of the N.S.C. on these boycott actions?

5. How did the boycotts affect the programme and achievement record of Nigerian athletes at those international competitions?

6. Give any suggestions on what Nigeria should do on the South African apartheid policy in sport, as well as ensuring that Nigerian athletes win top places at international competitions.

8.

7. Assume that South Africa does not change her apartheid policy in sport, and that individuals from countries such as Britain, France, West Germany and New Zealand maintain sporting links with South Africa.

- (a) Would you advise Nigeria to continue boycotting all subsequent international sport competitions in which these countries take part?

Yes

No

(Please Delete one)

- (b) Give and comment on the reasons for your response.

9.

8. Please, attach all materials you consider relevant to the answers and return it in the self-addressed envelope provided to the researcher. Thank you for your cooperation.

Jacob B. Agbogun (Researcher)
Department of Physical Education
University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta
Canada T6G 2H9

RESEARCH, SPORT AND POLITICS: THE STANCE OF NIGERIA ON THE SOUTH
AFRICAN APARTHEID POLICY IN SPORT, 1960 - 1982

SECTION I

The purpose of this study is to identify and assess the actions of Nigeria on the South African apartheid policy in sport from 1960 to 1982. Specifically, it is to:

1. Identify, analyze, and assess the actions of Nigeria relating to South Africa's racial sport policy, with particular reference to the effect of these actions on Nigerian Sport environment between 1960 and 1982.
2. Examine and determine the effect of Nigeria's actions and the role of Nigeria in the actions taken by international organizations on the South African apartheid policy in sport between 1960 and 1982.

Please answer the questions which follow in the spaces provided. You may use separate papers for your answers. Also attach any other materials you consider relevant to the topic.

Thank you for your cooperation.

1. (a) What is the name of your association?

- (b) What date was your association established in Nigeria?

- (c) Name of current Chairman/President:

- (d) Name of current Secretary:

- (e) Is the association affiliated to any international body?

YesNo(Please delete one)
- (f) If Yes, list the international affiliated bodies with dates and status in the table below:

NAME OF AFFILIATED INTERNATIONAL BODY	DATE OF AFFILIATION	STATUS: VOTING/NON-VOTING

2. (a) Has any member of the association ever held any office in an international body?

Yes No (Please delete one.)

- (b) If Yes, complete below as appropriate.

NAME OF INTERNATIONAL BODY	OFFICE HELD	DATES

3. (a) Has the association ever discussed and/or taken any action in Nigeria on the issue of South African apartheid policy in sport?

Yes

No

(Please delete one).

- (b) If Yes, give details (you may use additional paper. Also attach relevant extracts from minutes).

4. (a) Has the association ever participated in any international meeting where discussions and/or actions relating to the issue of South African apartheid policy in sports have been raised?

Yes

No

(Please delete one)

- (b) If Yes, give details (you may use additional paper for details. Also attach relevant materials e.g. minutes).

- Yes No (Please delete one)

- | DATE | COMPETITION | REASON ASSOCIATION DID NOT REGISTER FOR COMPETITION |
|------|-------------|---|
| | | |

8. If you answered Yes to Question 7, rate how you perceive the agreement of the athletes, coaches, team manager, association chairman with the reason for the boycott of two of the international competitions which you listed. Use the table below for your answer.

COMPETITION:				
YEAR:				
	ATHLETES	COACHES	TEAM MANAGER	ASSOC. CHAIRMAN
a) DEFINITELY AGREE				
b) INCLINED TO AGREE				
c) INCLINED TO DISAGREE				
d) DEFINITELY DISAGREE				
e) NON-COMMITTAL				
f) Give any comments on your response:				

COMPETITION:				
YEAR:				
	ATHLETES	COACHES	TEAM MANAGER	ASSOC. CHAIRMAN
a) DEFINITELY AGREE				
b) INCLINED TO AGREE				
c) INCLINED TO DISAGREE				
d) DEFINITELY DISAGREE				
e) NON-COMMITTAL				
f) Give any comments on your response:				

9. How did the boycotts affect the programme and achievement record of the association at those international competitions?

10. Give your suggestions on what Nigeria should do on the South African apartheid policy in sport, as well as ensuring that the association will win top places at international competitions.

11. Office held by respondent in association:

Date

13.

12. Assume that South Africa does not change her apartheid policy in sport, and that individuals from countries such as Britain, France, West Germany and New Zealand maintain sporting links with South Africa.

(a) Would you advise Nigeria to continue boycotting all subsequent international sport competitions in which these countries take part?

Yes

No

(Please Delete one)

(b) Give and comment on the reasons for your response.

13. Please, attach all materials you consider relevant to the answers and return it in the self addressed envelope provided to the researcher. Thank you for your cooperation.

Jacob B. Agbogun (Researcher)
Department of Physical Education
University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta
Canada T6G 2H9

RESEARCH, SPORT AND POLITICS: THE STANCE OF NIGERIA ON THE SOUTH
AFRICAN APARTHEID POLICY IN SPORT, 1960 - 1982

SECTION I

The purpose of this study is to identify and assess the actions of Nigeria on the South African apartheid policy in sport from 1960 to 1982. Specifically, it is to:

1. Identify, analyze, and assess the actions of Nigeria relating to South Africa's racial sport policy, with particular reference to the effect of these actions on Nigerian Sport environment between 1960 and 1982.
2. Examine and determine the effect of Nigeria's actions and the role of Nigeria in the actions taken by international organizations on the South African apartheid policy in sport between 1960 and 1982.

Please answer the questions which follow in the spaces provided. You may use separate papers for your answers. Also attach any other materials you consider relevant to the topic.

Thank you for your cooperation.

SECTION II

1. (a) Occupation _____

(b) As an official to a Nigerian sport team, please mark with (x) what position you held and indicate other details as requested in the spaces provided.

i. coach _____ sport _____ event _____

ii. team manager _____ sport _____

2. Give details of the international competitions in which you have served. Use the table below for your answer.

DATE OR YEAR	VENUE	INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION	NAME OF TEAM OR ATHLETE	PERFORMANCE	PLACING

3. (a) Have you been a coach official to a Nigerian international team which withdrew or boycotted the competition for reasons relating to the South African apartheid policy in sport?

Yes

No

(Please delete one)

(b) If your answer to 3(a) is yes, indicate details below:

DATE OR YEAR	COMPETITION	VENUE	REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL OR BOYCOTT

4. Please, if you answered Yes to Question 3, rate your agreement with the reasons for withdrawal or boycott of two international competitions from 3(b) above. Mark (x) against your rating in each case.

	RESPONSE	COMPETITION NO.1	COMPETITION NO. 2
a)	DEFINITELY AGREE		
b)	INCLINED TO AGREE		
c)	INCLINED TO DISAGREE		
d)	DEFINITELY DISAGREE		
e)	NON-COMMITTAL		

- f) Give any comments for your response:

5. How did the boycotts affect the programme and achievement record of your team or athletes at those international competitions?

6. Give any suggestions on what Nigeria should do on the South African apartheid policy in sport, as well as ensuring that your team or athletes win top places at international competitions.

8.

7. Assume that South Africa does not change her apartheid policy in sport, and that individuals from countries such as Britain, France, West Germany and New Zealand maintain sporting links with South Africa.

- (a) Would you advise Nigeria to continue boycotting all subsequent international sport competitions in which these countries take part?

Yes No (Please Delete one)

- (b) Give and comment on the reasons for your response.

9.

8. Please return the completed questionnaire to the official who delivered same to you or directly to the researcher.
Thank you for your cooperation.

Jacob B. Agbogun (Researcher)
Department of Physical Education
University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta
Canada
T6G 2H9

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Please answer the questions which follow in the spaces provided. You may use separate papers for your answers. Also attach any other materials you consider relevant to the topic.

Thank you for your cooperation.

SECTION II

1. (a) Occupation _____
(Optional)
- (b) Age _____
(Optional)
- (c) As an athlete, what is your sport _____
_____ ; Event _____.

2. Indicate in the table below, international competitions in which you have participated:

DATE OR YEAR	INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION	VENUE	BEST PERFORMANCE	PLACING

- Yes No (Please delete one)

- | DATE OR
YEAR | NAME OF INTERNATIONAL
COMPETITION | VENUE | REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL OR
BOYCOTT |
|-----------------|--------------------------------------|-------|-------------------------------------|
| | | | |

4. (a) As an international athlete who has experienced boycott actions, rate your agreement with the reasons for withdrawal or boycott of two international competitions from those listed in 3(b) above.

(b) As a prospective international athlete indicate in one column only, your agreement for an assumed impending boycott for reasons in 3(a) above.

RESPONSE	COMPETITION NO.1	COMPETITION NO. 2
(a) Definitely Agree		
(b) Inclined to Agree		
(c) Inclined to Disagree		
(d) Definitely Disagree		
(e) Non-Committal		

(f) Give reasons for your response:

5. How did the boycott affect you as an athlete? Give details including, if possible, any effect on your private life or career.

6. Give your suggestions on what Nigeria should do on the South African apartheid policy in sport, as well as ensuring that her athletes win top places at international competitions.

7. Assume that South Africa does not change her apartheid policy in sport, and that individuals from countries such as Britain, France, West Germany and New Zealand maintain sporting links with South Africa.

- (a) Would you advise Nigeria to continue boycotting all subsequent international sport competitions in which these countries take part?

Yes

No

(Please Delete one)

- (b) Give and comment on the reasons for your response.

9.

8. Please, attach all materials you consider relevant to the answers and return it in the self-addressed envelope provided to the researcher. Thank you for your cooperation.

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APPENDIX 3

THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS (ARTICLES 1-22)

UN Yearbook, 1978, Vol. 32, pp. 1185-1187.

THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS (ARTICLES 1-22)

The Charter of the United Nations

Appendix II

The Charter of the United Nations and the Statute of the International Court of Justice

The Charter of the United Nations

NOTE: The Charter of the United Nations was signed on 26 June 1945, in San Francisco, at the conclusion of the United Nations Conference on International Organization, and came into force on 24 October 1945. The Statute of the International Court of Justice is an integral part of the Charter.

Amendments to Articles 23, 27 and 61 of the Charter were adopted by the General Assembly on 17 December 1963 and came into force on 31 August 1965. A further amendment to Article 61 was adopted by the General Assembly on 20 December 1971, and came into force on 24 September 1973. An amendment to Article 109, adopted by the General Assembly on 20 December 1965, came into force on 12 June 1968.

The amendment to Article 23 enlarges the membership of the Security Council from 11 to 15. The amended Article 27 provides that decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of nine members (formerly seven) and on all other matters by an affirmative vote of nine members

(formerly seven), including the concurring votes of the five permanent members of the Security Council.

The amendment to Article 61, which entered into force on 31 August 1965, enlarged the membership of the Economic and Social Council from 18 to 27. The subsequent amendment to that Article, which entered into force on 24 September 1973, further increased the membership of the Council from 27 to 54.

The amendment to Article 109, which relates to the first paragraph of that Article, provides that a General Conference of Member States for the purpose of reviewing the Charter may be held at a date and place to be fixed by a two-thirds vote of the members of the General Assembly and by a vote of any nine members (formerly seven) of the Security Council. Paragraph 3 of Article 109, which deals with the consideration of a possible review conference during the tenth regular session of the General Assembly, has been retained in its original form in its reference to a "vote of any seven members of the Security Council", the paragraph having been acted upon in 1955 by the General Assembly, at its tenth regular session, and by the Security Council.

WE THE PEOPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS DETERMINED

to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our life-time has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

AND FOR THESE ENDS

to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples,

HAVE RESOLVED TO COMBINE OUR EFFORTS TO ACCOMPLISH THESE AIMS

Accordingly, our respective Governments, through representatives assembled in the city of San Francisco, who have exhibited their full powers found to be in good and due form, have agreed to the present Charter of the United Nations and do hereby establish an international organization to be known as the United Nations.

Chapter I PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES

Article 1

The Purposes of the United Nations are:

1. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace;
2. To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;
3. To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion; and
4. To be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

Article 2

The Organization and its Members, in pursuit of the Purposes stated in Article 1, shall act in accordance with the following Principles.

1. The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members.
2. All Members, in order to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership, shall fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the present Charter.

3. All Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered.

4. All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.

5. All Members shall give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the present Charter, and shall refrain from giving assistance to any state against which the United Nations is taking preventive or enforcement action.

6. The Organization shall ensure that states which are not Members of the United Nations act in accordance with these Principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security.

7. Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter; but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII.

Chapter II MEMBERSHIP

Article 3

The original Members of the United Nations shall be the states which, having participated in the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco, or having previously signed the Declaration by United Nations of 1 January 1942, sign the present Charter and ratify it in accordance with Article 110.

Article 4

1. Membership in the United Nations is open to all other peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and, in the judgment of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations.

2. The admission of any such state to membership in the United Nations will be effected by a decision of the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

Article 5

A Member of the United Nations against which preventive or enforcement action has been taken by the Security Council may be suspended from the exercise of the rights and privileges of membership by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. The exercise of these rights and privileges may be restored by the Security Council.

Article 6

A Member of the United Nations which has persistently violated the Principles contained in the present Charter may be expelled from the Organization by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

Chapter III ORGANS

Article 7

1. There are established as the principal organs of the United Nations: a General Assembly, a Security Council, an Economic and Social Council, a Trusteeship Council, an International Court of Justice, and a Secretariat.

2. Such subsidiary organs as may be found necessary may be established in accordance with the present Charter.

Article 8

The United Nations shall place no restrictions on the eligibility of men and women to participate in any capacity and under conditions of equality in its principal and subsidiary organs.

Chapter IV THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Composition

Article 9

1. The General Assembly shall consist of all the Members of the United Nations.

2. Each Member shall have not more than five representatives in the General Assembly.

Functions and powers

Article 10

The General Assembly may discuss any questions or any matters within the scope of the present Charter or relating to the powers and functions of any organs provided for in the present Charter, and, except as provided in Article 12, may make recommendations to the Members of the United Nations or to the Security Council or to both on any such questions or matters.

Article 11

1. The General Assembly may consider the general principles of co-operation in the maintenance of international peace and security, including the principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments, and may make recommendations with regard to such principles to the Members or to the Security Council or to both.

2. The General Assembly may discuss any questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security brought before it by any Member of the United Nations, or by the Security Council, or by a state which is not a Member of the United Nations in accordance with Article 35, paragraph 2, and, except as provided in Article 12, may make recommendations with regard to any such questions to the state or states concerned or to the Security Council or to both. Any such question on which action is necessary shall be referred to the Security Council by the General Assembly either before or after discussion.

3. The General Assembly may call the attention of the Security Council to situations which are likely to endanger international peace and security.

4. The powers of the General Assembly set forth in this Article shall not limit the general scope of Article 10.

Article 12

1. While the Security Council is exercising in respect of any dispute or situation the functions assigned to it in the present Charter, the General Assembly shall not make any recommendation with regard to that dispute or situation unless the Security Council so requests.

2. The Secretary-General, with the consent of the Security Council, shall notify the General Assembly at each session of any matters relative to the maintenance of international peace and security which are being dealt with by the Security Council and shall similarly notify the General Assembly, or the Members of the United Nations if the General Assembly is not in session, immediately the Security Council ceases to deal with such matters.

Article 13

1. The General Assembly shall initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of:

- promoting international co-operation in the political field and encouraging the progressive development of international law and its codification;
- promoting international co-operation in the economic, social, cultural, educational, and health fields, and assisting in the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

2. The further responsibilities, functions and powers of the General Assembly with respect to matters mentioned in paragraph 1(b) above are set forth in Chapters IX and X.

The Charter of the United Nations

Article 14

Subject to the provisions of Article 12, the General Assembly may recommend measures for the peaceful adjustment of any situation, regardless of origin, which it deems likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations, including situations resulting from a violation of the provisions of the present Charter setting forth the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations.

Article 15

1. The General Assembly shall receive and consider annual and special reports from the Security Council; these reports shall include an account of the measures that the Security Council has decided upon or taken to maintain international peace and security.

2. The General Assembly shall receive and consider reports from the other organs of the United Nations.

Article 16

The General Assembly shall perform such functions with respect to the international trusteeship system as are assigned to it under Chapters XII and XIII, including the approval of the trusteeship agreements for areas not designated as strategic.

Article 17

1. The General Assembly shall consider and approve the budget of the Organization.

2. The expenses of the Organization shall be borne by the Members as apportioned by the General Assembly.

3. The General Assembly shall consider and approve any financial and budgetary arrangements with specialized agencies referred to in Article 57 and shall examine the administrative budgets of such specialized agencies with a view to making recommendations to the agencies concerned.

Voting

Article 18

1. Each member of the General Assembly shall have one vote.

2. Decisions of the General Assembly on important questions shall be made by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting. These questions shall include: recommendations with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security, the election of the non-permanent members of the Security Council, the election of the members of the Economic and Social Council, the election of members of the Trusteeship Council in accordance with paragraph 1(c) of Article 86, the admission of new Members to the United Nations, the suspension of the rights and privileges of membership, the expulsion of Members, questions relating to the operation of the trusteeship system, and budgetary questions.

3. Decisions on other questions, including the determination of additional categories of questions to be decided by a two-thirds majority, shall be made by a majority of the members present and voting.

Article 19

A Member of the United Nations which is in arrears in the payment of its financial contributions to the Organization shall have no vote in the General Assembly if the amount of its arrears equals or exceeds the amount of the contributions due from it for the preceding two full years. The General Assembly may, nevertheless, permit such a Member to vote if it is satisfied that the failure to pay is due to conditions beyond the control of the Member.

Procedure

Article 20

The General Assembly shall meet in regular annual sessions and in such special sessions as occasion may require. Special sessions shall be convoked by the Secretary-General at the re-

quest of the Security Council or of a majority of the Members of the United Nations.

Article 21

The General Assembly shall adopt its own rules of procedure. It shall elect its President for each session.

Article 22

The General Assembly may establish such subsidiary organs as it deems necessary for the performance of its functions.

APPENDIX 4

UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

UN Office of Public Information, The International Bill of Human Rights, 1978, pp. 4-9).

APPENDIX 4

UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

PREAMBLE

WHEREAS recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people,

Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law,

Whereas it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations,

Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

Whereas Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in co-operation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms,

Whereas a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge,

Now, therefore, THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY proclaims

THIS Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Article 1

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

Article 3

Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

Article 4

No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

Article 5

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 6

Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 7

All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

Article 8

Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

Article 9

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Article 10

Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

Article 11

1. Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.
2. No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

Article 12

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Article 13

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.
2. Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

Article 14

1. Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.
2. This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 15

1. Everyone has the right to a nationality.
2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Article 16

1. Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family.

UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

2. Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.
3. The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

Article 17

1. Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.
2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Article 18

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Article 19

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Article 20

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.
2. No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Article 21

1. Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.
2. Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.
3. The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Article 22

Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-

UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

Article 23

1. Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.
2. Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.
3. Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.
4. Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

Article 24

Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

Article 25

1. Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.
2. Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

Article 26

1. Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.
2. Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

3. Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Article 27

1. Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.
2. Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

Article 28

Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

Article 29

1. Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.
2. In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.
3. These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 30

Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

APPENDIX 5

CHARTER OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

Cervenka, Zdenek. The Organization of African Unity and Its Charter.
New York: Frederick, A. Praeger, 1969, pp. 231-239).

APPENDIX 5

CHARTER OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

APPENDIX

CHARTER OF THE ORGANISATION
OF AFRICAN UNITY

Addis Ababa, May, 1963

We, the Heads of African States and Governments assembled in the City of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia;

Convinced that it is the inalienable right of all people to control their own destiny;

Conscious of the fact that freedom, equality, justice and dignity are essential objectives for the achievement of the legitimate aspirations of the African peoples;

Conscious of our responsibility to harness the natural and human resources of our continent for the total advancement of our peoples in spheres of human endeavour;

Inspired by a common determination to promote understanding among our peoples and co-operation among our States in response to the aspirations of our peoples for brotherhood and solidarity, in a larger unity transcending ethnic and national differences;

Convinced that, in order to translate this determination into a dynamic force in the cause of human progress, conditions for peace and security must be established and maintained;

Determined to safeguard and consolidate the hard-won independence as well as the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our States, and to fight against neo-colonialism in all its forms;

Dedicated to the general progress of Africa;

Persuaded that the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to the principles of which we reaffirm our adherence, provide a solid foundation for peaceful and positive co-operation among States;

Desirous that all African States should henceforth unite so that the welfare and well-being of their peoples can be assured;

Resolved to reinforce the links between our States by establishing and strengthening common institutions;

Have agreed to the present Charter.

ESTABLISHMENT

Article I

1. The High Contracting Parties do by the present Charter establish an Organisation to be known as the *Organisation of African Unity*.
2. The Organisation shall include the Continental African States, Madagascar and other Islands surrounding Africa.

PURPOSES

Article II

1. The Organisation shall have the following purposes:
 - (a) to promote the unity and solidarity of the African States;
 - (b) to co-ordinate and intensify their co-operation and efforts to achieve a better life for the peoples of Africa;
 - (c) to defend their sovereignty, their territorial integrity and independence;
 - (d) to eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa; and
 - (e) to promote international co-operation, having due regard to the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
2. To these ends, the Member States shall co-ordinate and harmonise their general policies, especially in the following fields:
 - (a) political and diplomatic co-operation;
 - (b) economic co-operation, including transport and communications;
 - (c) educational and cultural co-operation;
 - (d) health, sanitation, and nutritional co-operation;
 - (e) scientific and technical co-operation; and
 - (f) co-operation for defence and security.

PRINCIPLES

Article III

The Member States, in pursuit of the purposes stated in Article II, solemnly affirm and declare their adherence to the following principles:

- 1, the sovereign equality of all Member States;
- 2, non-interference in the internal affairs of States;
- 3, respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each State and for its inalienable right to independent existence;

- 4, peaceful settlement of disputes by negotiation, mediation, conciliation or arbitration;
- 5, unreserved condemnation, in all its forms, of political assassination as well as of subversive activities on the part of neighbouring States or any other State;
- 6, absolute dedication to the total emancipation of the African territories which are still dependent;
- 7, affirmation of a policy of non-alignment with regard to all blocs.

MEMBERSHIP

Article IV

Each independent sovereign African State shall be entitled to become a Member of the Organisation.

RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF MEMBER STATES

Article V

All Member States shall enjoy equal rights and have equal duties.

Article VI

The Member States pledge themselves to observe scrupulously the principles enumerated in Article III of the present Charter.

INSTITUTIONS

Article VII

The Organisation shall accomplish its purposes through the following principal institutions:

- 1, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government;
- 2, the Council of Ministers;
- 3, the General Secretariat;
- 4, the Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration.

THE ASSEMBLY OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT

Article VIII

The Assembly of Heads of State and Government shall be the supreme organ of the Organisation. It shall, subject to the provisions of this Charter, discuss matters of common concern to Africa with a view to co-ordinating and harmonising the general policy of the Organisation. It may in addition review the structure, functions and

Article XIV

1. Each Member State shall have one vote.
2. All resolutions shall be determined by a simple majority of the members of the Council of Ministers.
3. Two-thirds of the total membership of the Council of Ministers shall form a quorum for any meeting of the Council.

Article XV

The Council shall have the power to determine its own rules of procedure.

GENERAL SECRETARIAT

Article XVI

There shall be an Administrative Secretary-General of the Organisation, who shall be appointed by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government. The Administrative Secretary-General shall direct the affairs of the Secretariat.

Article XVII

There shall be one or more Assistant Secretaries-General of the Organisation who shall be appointed by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government.

Article XVIII

The functions and conditions of services of the Secretary-General, of the Assistant Secretaries-General and other employees of the Secretariat shall be governed by the provisions of this Charter and the regulations approved by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government.

1. In the performance of their duties the Administrative Secretary-General and the staff shall not seek or receive instruction from any government or from any other authority external to the Organisation. They shall refrain from any action which might reflect on their position as international officials responsible only to the Organisation.
2. Each member of the Organisation undertakes to respect the exclusive character of the responsibilities of the Administrative Secretary-General and the Staff and not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their responsibilities.

COMMISSION OF MEDIATION, CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION

Article XIX

Member States pledge to settle all disputes among themselves by

acts of all the organs and any specialised agencies which may be created in accordance with the present Charter.

Article IX

The Assembly shall be composed of the Heads of State and Government or their duly accredited representatives and it shall meet at least once a year. At the request of any Member State and approval by the majority of the Member States, the Assembly shall meet in extraordinary session.

Article X

1. Each Member State shall have one vote.
2. All resolutions shall be determined by a two-thirds majority of the Members of the Organisation.
3. Questions of procedure shall require a simple majority. Whether or not a question is one of procedure shall be determined by a simple majority of all Member States of the Organisation.
4. Two-thirds of the total membership of the Organisation shall form a quorum at any meeting of the Assembly.

Article XI

The Assembly shall have the power to determine its own rules of procedure.

THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

Article XII

1. The Council of Ministers shall consist of Foreign Ministers or such other Ministers as are designated by the Governments of Member States.
2. The Council of Ministers shall meet at least twice a year. When requested by any Member State and approved by two-thirds of all Member States, it shall meet in extraordinary session.

Article XIII

1. The Council of Ministers shall be responsible to the Assembly of Heads of State and Government. It shall be entrusted with the responsibility of preparing conferences of the Assembly.
2. It shall take cognisance of any matter referred to it by the Assembly. It shall be entrusted with the implementation of the decisions of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government. It shall co-ordinate inter-African co-operation in accordance with the instructions of the Assembly and in conformity with Article II (2) of the present Charter.

peaceful means and, to this end, decide to establish a Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration, the composition of which and conditions of service shall be defined by a separate Protocol to be approved by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government. Said Protocol shall be regarded as forming an integral part of the present Charter.

SPECIALISED COMMISSIONS

Article XX

The Assembly shall establish such Specialised Commissions as it may deem necessary, including the following:

1. Economic and Social Commission;
2. Educational and Cultural Commission;
3. Health, Sanitation and Nutrition Commission;
4. Defence Commission;
5. Scientific, Technical and Research Commission.

Article XXI

Each Specialised Commission referred to in Article XX shall be composed of the Ministers concerned or other Ministers or Plenipotentiaries designated by the Government of the Member States.

Article XXII

The functions of the Specialised Commissions shall be carried out in accordance with the provisions of the present Charter and of the regulations approved by the Council of Ministers.

THE BUDGET

Article XXIII

The budget of the Organisation prepared by the Administrative Secretary-General shall be approved by the Council of Ministers. The budget shall be provided by contributions from Member States in accordance with the scale of assessment of the United Nations; provided, however, that no Member State shall be assessed an amount exceeding twenty per cent of the yearly regular budget of the Organisation. The Member States agree to pay their respective contributions regularly.

SIGNATURE AND RATIFICATION OF CHARTER

Article XXIV

1. This Charter shall be open for signature of all independent

sovereign African States and shall be ratified by the signatory States in accordance with their respective constitutional processes.

2. The original instrument, done if possible in African languages, in English and French, all texts being equally authentic, shall be deposited with the Government of Ethiopia which shall transmit certified copies thereof to all independent sovereign African States.

3. Instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Government of Ethiopia, which shall notify all signatories of each such deposit.

ENTRY INTO FORCE

Article XXV

This Charter shall enter into force immediately upon receipt by the Government of Ethiopia of the instrument of ratification from two-thirds of the signatory States.

REGISTRATION OF THE CHARTER

Article XXVI

This Charter shall, after due ratification, be registered with the Secretariat of the United Nations through the Government of Ethiopia in conformity with Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations.

INTERPRETATION OF THE CHARTER

Article XXVII

Any question which may arise concerning the interpretation of this Charter shall be decided by a vote of two-thirds of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organisation.

ADHESION AND ACCESSION

Article XXVIII

1. Any independent sovereign African State may at any time notify the Administrative Secretary-General of its intention to adhere or accede to this Charter.

2. The Administrative Secretary-General shall, on receipt of such notification, communicate a copy of it to all the Member States.

Admission shall be decided by a simple majority of the Member States. The decision of each Member State shall be transmitted to the Administrative Secretary-General, who shall, upon receipt of the required number of votes, communicate the decision to the State concerned.

MISCELLANEOUS

Article XXIX

The working languages of the Organisation and all its institutions shall be, if possible, African languages, English and French.

Article XXX

The Administrative Secretary-General may accept on behalf of the Organisation gifts, bequests and other donations made to the Organisation, provided that this is approved by the Council of Ministers.

Article XXXI

The Council of Ministers shall decide on the privileges and immunities to be accorded to the personnel of the Secretariat in the respective territories of the Member States.

CESSATION OF MEMBERSHIP

Article XXXII

Any State which desires to renounce its membership shall forward a written notification to the Administrative Secretary-General. At the end of one year from the date of such notification, if not withdrawn, the Charter shall cease to apply with respect to the renouncing State, which shall thereby cease to belong to the Organisation.

AMENDMENT OF THE CHARTER

Article XXXIII

This Charter may be amended or revised if any Member State makes a written request to the Administrative Secretary-General to that effect; provided, however, that the proposed amendment is not submitted to the Assembly for consideration until all the Member States have been duly notified of it and a period of one year has elapsed. Such an amendment shall not be effective unless approved by at least two-thirds of all the Member States.

In Faith Whereof, We, the Heads of African States and Governments, have signed this Charter.

ALGERIA	MALI
BURUNDI	MAURITANIA
CAMEROON	MOROCCO
CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC	NIGER
CHAD	NIGERIA
CONGO (Brazzaville)	RWANDA
CONGO (Leopoldville)	SENEGAL
DAHOMEY	SIERRA LEONE
ETHIOPIA	SOMALIA
GABON	SUDAN
GHANA	TANGANYIKA
GUINEA	TOGO
IVORY COAST	TUNISIA
LIBERIA	UGANDA
LIBYA	UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC
MADAGASCAR	UPPER VOLTA

APPENDIX 6

PERSECUTION OF ADVOCATES OF NON-RACIAL SPORT (AS AT MID 1976)

Brickhill, Joan. Race Against Race. London: International Defence of Aid Fund for South Africa, 1976, pp. 73-74.

APPENDIX 6

PERSECUTION OF ADVOCATES OF NON-RACIAL SPORT (AS AT MID 1976)

- 1958 Representatives of non-racial soccer federation refused passports to attend congress of international body, FIFA, to put federation's case for admission to FIFA. Passport withdrawn from Harry Bloom, white South African lawyer who represented federation at a FIFA congress.
- 1959 Passports withdrawn from players of non-racial table tennis union to prevent them participating in world championships after international body recognised non-racial in place of white union.
- 1960 N. Rathinsamy and D. Brutus refused passports to represent non-racial sports movement at IOC meeting.
- 1959-60 Police hounded SASA members collecting signatures for petition against New Zealand rugby tour of South Africa. Intimidation of SASA officials increased after Sharpeville and State of Emergency. George Singh, secretary of non-racial soccer federation, detained for two months.
- 1961 Dennis Brutus banned.
- 1962 SANROC (South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee) formed.
- 1963 Brutus arrested and sentenced to 18 months on Robben Island.
- 1964 SANROC members constantly harrassed by police; pressure put on their employers; passports withheld to prevent them putting their case to international bodies.
Chairman (N. Rathinsamy): passport withdrawn;
Secretary (Reg Hlongwane): warned he would be banned and had to leave country to find employment;
Chris de Broglio (South African white weightlifting champion 1953-62) forced to leave country after pressure on his employers.
- 1964 George Singh of non-racial soccer federation banned and house arrested after white soccer body suspended by FIFA.
- 1965 Brutus banned and house arrested on release from jail.
- 1966 SANROC forced into exile in order to continue fight against apartheid sport.
- 1970 Representatives of non-racial table tennis board refused passports to attend 1971 world championships.
- 1970 Non-racial sportsmen inside country regrouped after smothering of SASA and SANROC by government. *Ad hoc* committee set up to co-ordinate non-racial sport.
- (1973) Committee succeeded by South African Council on Sport (SACOS) with president Norman Middleton, vice-president Hassan Howa and general secretary M. N. Pather - all constantly harrassed by police.
- 1971 Jasmat Dhiraj, black South African tennis champion, had to delay European tour for two months because of initial reluctance of government to issue passport. On tour he made anti-apartheid statements and decided not to return for fear of persecution.
- 1972 Middleton convicted and fined for quoting George Singh, a banned person. Twice (1973, 74) refused passport to attend FIFA meetings.
- 1972-73 Morgan Naidoo, president of non-racial swimming union, frequently hounded by police. 1972: dismissed from employment with white liquor firm where he had worked 4½ years; dismissal came after he announced his union had broken off talks with white body and would apply to international body for membership. 1973: refused passport to attend meeting of international body; banned for five years after white swimming union expelled by international body.
- 1973-75 Hassan Howa three times refused passport to attend meetings of International Cricket Conference and to counter Sehume's pro-apartheid propaganda in New Zealand.
- 1974 Muntu Myeza, general secretary of South African Students Organisation and former black amateur heavyweight boxing champion, detained in September, charged under Terrorism Act in January 1975, still on trial mid-1976.

APPENDIX 7

THE GOALS OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL FOR SPORTS IN AFRICA

SCSA, Statutes, 1979, Chapter 1, Article 3, Nos. 1-14.

APPENDIX 7

THE GOALS OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL FOR SPORT IN AFRICAArticle 3

The Supreme Council for Sports in Africa is the top coordinating body of the African Sports Movement and the instrument of concerted action of the Member States for the promotion and the development of Sports in Africa.

The goals of the Supreme Council for Sports in Africa are:

1. to find and apply all the measures and all the means capable of promoting the rise of African Sports in its structures and in its events;
2. to persuade the Governments of the African Countries to become resolutely involved in the process of protecting and promoting Physical Education and Sports at school and outside of school;
3. to look after the expansion and respect of the Olympic Ideal within the continent and to coordinate the actions of the African National Olympic Committees;
4. to promote, by all possible means, the development of African Sports, so that Africa will be properly represented at the world sports competitions, and especially at the Olympic Games;
5. to make the desired contacts with the International Organizations capable of giving their financial, physical or technical contribution to the development of Sports in Africa;
6. to collaborate with the International Bodies and Institutes specialized in the fields of the Training of Personnel, Research in Physical Education, Medicine and the Press related to Sports, in order to bring about the creation of similar structures in Africa and to

support, by means of a close cooperation, the actions of these.

7. to cooperate with the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the National Authorities of the Member Countries, the Continental Confederations, as well as with the International Federations and Authorities, in order to plan and harmonize the measures to be taken for the training of the personnel.
8. to orientate and to maintain African Sports on the path of African Unity by consolidating the reciprocal understanding and friendship between those who are practising and those who are directing;
9. to prevent any form of racial, religious or political discrimination in sports, with regard to a Country or an individual;
10. to study every question relative to the world sports movement and to stop a common attitude concerning the position and the participation of the African Countries;
11. to encourage the operation of the African Sports Confederations and to bring about the creation of those which do not yet exist;
12. to organize the African Games and to see to their continuity;
13. to promote the creation in Africa of the Sports Development Zones, in order to regionalize the continental competitions;
14. to orientate, coordinate and support the activities of these Sports Development Zones.

APPENDIX 8

APPLICATION FOR RE-RECOGNITION BY THE IOC

SANOC. South Africa and World Sport No. 10, Pretoria, 1981.

APPENDIX 8

APPLICATION FOR RE-RECOGNITION BY THE IOC

Rand Club
P O Box 1032
JOHANNESBURG
2000

1981 05 23

President Juan Samaranch
International Olympic Committee
Château de Vidy CH 1007
LAUSANNE
Switzerland

Dear President Samaranch

The South African National Olympic Committee has now been in the Olympic wilderness for over twenty years. It was stressed by the IOC itself that this was due not to any breach on the part of SANOC of IOC rules, but due to the political situation prevailing in the country.

At Lake Placid all references to countries have been removed from the IOC charter. The policies of a country can, therefore, no longer be a factor in the disqualification of an NOC.

SANOC over the years has not only remained loyal to the ideals of the Olympic movement, but has kept these principles active and alive despite international sanctions and isolation. In fact, SANOC's relentless crusade against discrimination resulted in sport eventually being played and administered in a manner sharply in contrast with practices and policies relating to much of the rest of South African society.

These changes have been reported on by investigations on behalf of international tennis and cricket and by the British Sports Council and the French Parliamentary delegation.

In my own mind and in the minds of a number of my colleagues on the IOC we are firmly of the opinion that, after discussions at sessions of the IOC in Athens, Montevideo and Lake Placid, it was not a matter of whether but when an IOC Commission was to be sent to South Africa.

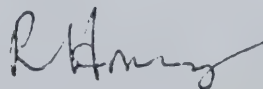
In the meantime we have learnt of the application to the IOC to have SACOS recognised as the legitimate body representing South African sport. To accede would amount to the most ludicrous travesty of justice in international sport.

Under these circumstances I would wholeheartedly support the application of the South African Olympic and National Games Association to be re-recognised by the IOC.

I sincerely hope that you will see your way clear to submit the application plus the two covering letters to the Executive and, at the appropriate time, to all members.

Thanking you in anticipation.

Yours sincerely



Reg Honey

resist political pressures and, thereby, to have forfeited its recognition and its right to send participants to the Olympic Games. Since SANOC's exclusion from the Olympic Movement it has become abundantly clear that the IOC itself was as powerless, if not more so, in resisting or reversing the incursions of governments as evidenced *inter alia* at the time of the Montreal and Moscow Games. What justification remains to continue ostracising SANOC for similar impotence.

3. Possibly as a result of the foregoing the IOC, at its Lake Placid Session, decided to amend its Charter and to eliminate all mention of and considerations pertaining to countries and concomitant symbols such as national flags and anthems.

National Olympic delegations have become the operative entity. It is to be presumed that this decision is to apply to everyone and was not intended to exclude the National Olympic Committee of South Africa. If so, the earlier decisions relating to "prevailing policies" and "system of discrimination" no longer apply, particularly as SANOC has never been found to have contravened the IOC Charter.

4. The only possible doubt as to the credentials of SANOC could, consequently, centre around the question as to whether it adequately represents the sportsmen and women of all communities in South Africa irrespective of race, politics or religion. It is conceded that some doubt could exist in this connection and SANOC would be more than prepared to discuss with the IOC ways and means to satisfy itself on this particular score.

5. For some considerable time now the IOC appears to have avoided the so-called South African question mainly on the grounds that "not sufficient progress" had been made to warrant further consideration. Attached to this application is a summary of the findings of the following delegations that visited South

Africa to investigate the situation relating to sport.

The International Cricket Conference
The International Tennis Federation
The French Parliamentary Delegation
The British Sports Council

Without exception these delegations have expressed their satisfaction with, and even surprise at the extent of progress made to eliminate discrimination in South African sport. They have, furthermore, found overwhelming evidence in favour of the recognised governing bodies of sport and against those professing to represent "Black" sportsmen and who recommend continued isolation. Without exception they have recommended encouragement of the attempts to eliminate the last vestiges of discrimination, *inter alia*, by lifting sanctions against South African sport and they have recommended a re-examination of attitudes to the policies concerning South African sport by governments and international sport organisations.

Another annexure to this application contains a chronological summary of developments in South African sport towards normalisation and any objective observer will concede that these developments are fundamental and certainly not cosmetic.

It is well to remember that the Killanin report of 1967 led to SANOC having been re-invited to take part in the Olympic Games and that, at that time, the process towards the elimination of discrimination had hardly commenced.

Under the circumstances, the adamant adherence on the part of the IOC to the notion that insufficient progress had been made, is as incomprehensible as it is discouraging.

6. The South African government has now publicly and unequivocally declared South African

sport to be autonomous and to be free to decide for itself on matters such as membership, participation, selection and administration. South African sport is, therefore, prepared to be examined and to be judged on its merits. Representations have been made to the authorities to exempt sport completely from such legislation that even theoretically could be looked upon as restrictive and discriminatory and it is confidently expected that amending legislation will be passed before the end of the year. Whatever impediments remain in connection with, for instance, reluctance on the part of certain local authorities to place facilities at the disposal of non-racial participation could best be overcome through the support of a body such as the IOC.

7. The IOC must be aware of the contemplated World Convention Against Apartheid in Sport under the auspices of the United Nations. It is the declared intention to utilize this convention to secure the complete and final isolation of South African sport by obtaining the active co-operation of all governments and international federations.

This may cause the IOC to be even more reluctant to become involved at this stage. The fact remains, though, that the principle of governmental non-interference is involved and this principle is so inviolable, so universal and so cardinal as far as international sport is concerned that the IOC dare not allow itself, as the highest international authority, to be dictated to by a body of world governments and politicians.

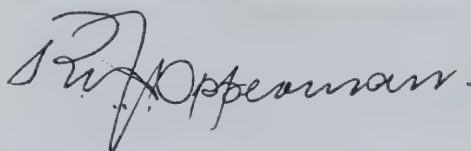
Furthermore, there is a significant moral principle involved. The IOC used every opportunity to implore South African sport to bring about changes also as a condition for re-acceptance. Now that this has, for all practical purposes, been achieved, is the IOC going to leave South African sport in the lurch? Is it to remain content to see sport in South Africa (or for that matter in any

country) being abused for political ends, particularly as the premises for such action can no longer be justified as a result of what South African sport has achieved to free itself from the bondage of discrimination? A grave and irrevocable injustice stands to be perpetrated, based on an alleged set of circumstances which is no longer valid. The only recourse open to South African sport is to appeal to the IOC, the highest authority in international sport, to come and verify for itself the true situation and, if warranted, to save South African sport from those whose primary pre-occupation is not the interest of sport per se.

Pledge of endorsement

In case any doubt should remain as to SANOC's bona fides relative to the principles and high ideals of the Olympic Movement, it reaffirms its unequivocal support for and acceptance of the letter and spirit of the Olympic Code with particular reference to Rule 3 (non-discrimination), Rule 7 (participation of all citizens), Rule 24 (requirements relating to NOC's autonomy and resistance to political and other pressures).

During twenty years of isolation SANOC succeeded in keeping the Olympic spirit and ideals alive. Under very difficult circumstances pressure was maintained throughout to bring about such changes as would allow SANOC to comply with Olympic principles. Now, when appreciation and recognition have become overdue, is SANOC to be sacrificed for purposes of expediency and political exploitation?



R W J OPPERMAN
PRESIDENT

1131 Church Street
Hatfield Pretoria
0083

1981 05 25

Mr Reginald Honey QC
Member of the International Olympic Committee
Rand Club
JOHANNESBURG
2001

Dear Mr Honey

APPLICATION FOR RE-AFFILIATION TO THE IOC

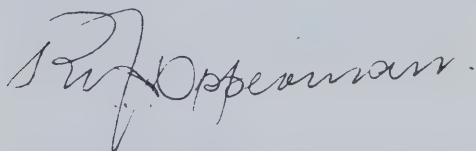
I attach hereto an application for re-affiliation to the IOC. After twenty years of isolation and, particularly, after so much has been achieved by the South African Olympic and National Games Association to do away with discrimination and, thereby, to comply with the principles and the spirit of the Olympic Charter, I hope that you will agree that such an application is not only warranted but highly overdue.

I believe the correct procedure is to submit such an application via your good offices and I shall, therefore, be most grateful for your kind assistance and moral support in this matter.

If any other formalities are involved, I shall be glad to be informed accordingly.

In anticipation, our very sincere appreciation.

Yours sincerely



Rudolf W J Opperman
PRESIDENT, SA OLYMPIC AND NATIONAL GAMES
ASSOCIATION

1131 Church Street
Hatfield Pretoria
0083

11th June 1981

APPLICATION FOR RE-RECOGNITION BY THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE

Background

South Africa's Olympic delegation won its first medal in 1908 and until its exclusion after the 1960 Games, seventy-five South Africans won Olympic gold, silver and bronze medals.

Controversy about South African participation commenced in 1955. The South African National Olympic Committee's invitation to the 1964 Tokyo Games was withdrawn when it failed to obtain a guarantee from the authorities to abandon its policies relating to sport. As a result of a visit to South Africa and a report by the IOC's Commission, under the chairmanship of Lord Killanin, the South African National Olympic Committee (SANOC), was re-invited to take part in the Mexico Olympic Games. Political agitation and threats of violence caused the invitation to be cancelled. At the 1970 Session of the IOC, recognition of SANOC was finally withdrawn. The question of another Commission of Inquiry to South Africa was discussed by the IOC at its meetings in Athens, Montevideo and Lake Placid. It was envisaged that such a visit would be arranged after the Moscow Games. Through the press it was subsequently learnt that the IOC Executive had decided not to send a delegation as it believed that not sufficient progress had been made to warrant such a delegation.

Motivation for Application

1. Up till the time of expulsion, SANOC may have failed in obtaining the necessary guarantees from its government to allow full compliance with the requirements of the Olympic Charter but neither the Committee nor any of its affiliated members has ever been found guilty by the IOC or any of the International Federations of contravening any of its rules or principles.

Exclusion, in every instance, was based on "prevailing policies" or the "system of discrimination". Sportsmen, nowhere in the world, are the rulers of the countries in which they live and if the sportsmen and women of South Africa are to be so severely penalised to indicate displeasure with the political dispensation of their country, then the question arises why no action has ever been contemplated against the athletes of the many countries of the world where flagrant denial of human and civil rights, annihilation of opposition and even genocide have become facts of life and are there for all to see.

2. SANOC was held to be incapable of upholding the requirements of Rule 25 to

Cricket Union and to cricketers in South Africa should be done. This would fulfil one of the functions of the International Cricket Conference to extend, encourage and improve cricket throughout the world.

They do, therefore, recommend that, subject to an invitation being received, a strong team representative of as many countries as possible from ICC is sent to play a series of matches at the highest representative level during the 1979/80 season. It is further recommended that any profits from a visit by such an ICC team should be put to the use of furthering the cause of 'normal' or 'non-racial' cricket in South Africa."

International Tennis Federation

The following is a statement by Mr Philippe Chatrier, president of the International Tennis Federation and twice leader of the ITF delegation to South Africa:

"South Africa is such an important issue for the whole world of sport that I must, as President and twice leader of the ITF delegation to South Africa, express my views on this point.

You have all received the-report of the Committee of Management stating our findings as honestly and bluntly as we could. Now, speaking in my own right, I should like to say this

The South African problem is not our battle. It is a political battle. So many things are at issue that tennis and every sport have become the essential weapons for those who want to change the political regime in South Africa and get rid of apartheid.

I feel that the South African Tennis Union has done everything possible within the law of their country even to the point of having some of those laws changed to

make a completely non-racial game a reality. It has not worked for this simple reason: The leaders of non-white tennis, who, when we first went to South Africa had a slogan 'Can we play normal sport in an abnormal society?' were saying openly during our second visit that they were not prepared to allow tennis (or any integrated sport) to take place in that abnormal society. They say that tennis is only a small part of life and they are prepared to sacrifice it to fulfil their main aim. The second delegation was asked to apportion the blame for the lack of progress towards a unified tennis federation, which everyone would be happy to join and share in the competition and administration.

We left Johannesburg after another round of long discussions without any hope that this would materialise in the foreseeable future because the non-white tennis union had hardened their attitude and had rejected all SATU's invitations to begin negotiations for a new body. As far as tennis is concerned, the blame for this lack of progress must lie with the non-white association. But they have made it clear to us that they were fighting for a much bigger cause the abolition of apartheid, a fact that I personally accept and respect, although as a sports administrator it grieves me deeply. Tennis and sport in general has no power to solve this problem, which affects our community deeply. Nevertheless, the International Tennis Federation takes pride in the fact that it has done more than any other international sport body to investigate the positive steps that could be made to solve this situation. We shall continue to watch the developments there. We have asked South Africa not to enter our team competitions because their presence would lead to the destruction of our main international events. On the other hand, we took the view that keeping South Africa in our organisation would be the best way to serve the interests of the players of all races. That, to me, is the duty of the International Tennis Federation."

Overseas Sport Missions to South Africa

International Cricket Conference

At a meeting of the International Cricket Conference, July 1978, it was decided to send a delegation to South Africa with the object of determining what progress, if any, had been made towards cricket being played on a multi-racial basis; at what levels, if any, this was occurring; whether the newly-formed South African Cricket Union could be deemed as being a body representative of cricketers of all races and capable of ensuring as far as possible that multi-racial cricket was played and representative teams selected on merit.

The delegation consisted of Mr CH Palmer, chairman of the ICC, Mr PR Brown (United Kingdom), Messrs RJ Parish and JJ War (Australia), Messrs WA Hadlee and ME Chapple (New Zealand), Mr A Hunt (Bermuda), Mr JG Gardiner (USA) and Mr JA Bailly, Secretary of the ICC. The findings of the delegation were as follows:

"There is some dispute regarding the relative strength in numbers of SACB, the breakaway body, but it is fair to say that they represent a strong minority of administrators and players almost entirely of Indian or Cape Coloured origins at school, club and provincial level, although it is possible that, within the world of cricket in South Africa some ground is being lost by them.

On the political front outside South Africa, however, the SACB through its parent body, the South African Council on Sport, has obtained the ear of governments in the outside world, possibly an inevitable consequence of the South African Government's basic policies in regard to

separate development. SACOS is affiliated to the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa and it seems that only through this Supreme Council can a sport be accepted by the United Nations Commission on Sport, which functions through the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid.

There is, however, in our opinion no doubt that the South African Cricket Union is a body representative of the majority of cricketers in South Africa and as far as ICC is concerned should be recognised as the governing body for cricket in South Africa.

Conclusions and recommendations

It is appreciated that the views of some governing bodies of member countries and the governments with whom governing bodies must work, are generally committed to complete discouragement of national representative teams playing against South Africa. It is also recognised that Sport can no longer be divorced from political considerations and that the subject of relations with South Africa in a cricketing sense, objectively though ICC may try to look at the matter from the point of view of the game and its promotion, is nevertheless riddled with political aspects.

It follows that while those who went to South Africa were greatly impressed by the progress made towards non-racial cricket and the amount of non-racial cricket actually being played, they recognise that in the current political climate there could be serious repercussions affecting the welfare of the game if any attempt were made to promote SACU membership of the International Cricket Conference. Nor, for similar reasons, would they recommend the resumption of any form of representative cricket between Member Countries and South Africa. It is, however, felt that everything possible that can be done, to lend encouragement to the South African

French Parliamentary Delegation

The following despatch from Paris by the Natal Mercury correspondent can serve as a summary of the findings and recommendations of the delegation:

"France's parliamentary sports delegation to South Africa yesterday called for the resumption of full sporting ties with South African international teams, both segregated and multiracial.

Announcing the delegation's findings, after a nine-day tour in January, Gaullist MP Bernard Marie told a Press conference in the French Parliament that sport had an important role to play in combating apartheid.

But he qualified the delegation's suggestions by emphasising that there should be on-the-spot checks by national and international sporting organisations on federations the South Africans said had been integrated.

The most controversial announcement by the delegation was that contacts should be resumed in non-integrated sports, as a way of pressuring the Pretoria Government and as a weapon against apartheid.

Explaining the controversial nature of the findings Mr Marie maintained that there was no racism in South Africa, at least involving aggression by one race against another.

On federations in the process of desegregation Mr Marie, himself a former rugby union referee, said the provisional contacts should be resumed, with a study of the measures taken and deadline set for the lifting of barriers.

Mr Marie said that he was giving a five-to-three majority view of the eight-man delegation of National Assembly members. Seven of them are members of France's

Government coalition. Three of the delegation members were totally opposed to the resumption of contacts - arguing it would encourage apartheid.

Independent Mr P Jean-Guy Branger said these suggestions could only help to bring black and white people together."

British Sports Council

In a letter from Miss Olive Newson, Secretary of the delegation to South Africa, SAONGA was informed of the following statement and recommendations issued by the Council, at a meeting of the Council held on 12th May 1980, as a result of its investigation of South African Sport:

"The Sports Council, while condemning apartheid, recommends, in view of the progress that has been made in multi-racial sport in South Africa and in the hope that the abnormal society in which sport exists in that country at this moment will be subject to change, that:

1. The IOC be approached to carry out a further review of South African sport, taking into account the Sport Council's Report.
2. International sports bodies be urged through the national governing bodies of sport to review the situation in the light of the Sports Council's Report.
3. The Government be asked to note the action which the Council has taken."

This statement has already been conveyed to the International Olympic Committee.

The statement was also passed to governing bodies of sport in this country to each of whom two copies of the Report had previously been sent, one copy being intended for forwarding to the international body of that sport.

In writing to the governing bodies, we referred particularly to recommendation number 2 above saying:

"I know that some international governing bodies of sport have previously investigated the situation in their sport in South Africa. It remains for Olympic sports to be aware of any action being taken by the IOC as a result of the above request and also to consider instituting a review or up-dating one previously done."

Newspaper comment, particularly after the latest of the aforementioned reports was generally optimistic about the future prospects of South African sport. Typical was the following item from the London Star Bureau:

"South Africa should be re-admitted to the International Olympic Committee and be playing test cricket again within a year following the immensely favourable report of the Jeeps fact-finding mission to the Republic in January.

The news that the influential British Sports Council, which sent the mission to South Africa, has urged international sport to reassess its policy on the Republic, has brought renewed optimism that the long period of isolation may end soon."

Developments to normalise sport

In the original application a summary of the developments to eliminate discrimination was attached. In order to avoid duplication these developments are contained in Bulletin No. 1 "Towards the Elimination of Discrimination in Sport".

APPENDIX 9

SOUTH AFRICAN SPORT AND LEGISLATION

SANOC. South Africa and World Sport No. 8, Pretoria, 1981.

APPENDIX 9

SOUTH AFRICAN SPORT AND LEGISLATION

Republiek van Suid-Afrika · Republic of South Africa

Ministerie van Nasionale Opvoeding
Ministry of National Education

QA 2

 Verw No 3/15/4/4
 Ref. No.

 Posbus 679
 P.O. Box
 Kaapstad/Cape Town
 8000

Mr RWJ Opperman
 President: SA Olympic and National Games
 Association
 1131 Church Street
 Hatfield
 PRETORIA
 0083

1981-08-20

Dear Mr Opperman

LEGISLATION AND THE BADEN-BADEN IOC CONGRESS

I am aware how anxious you are for the proposed amending legislation - to exempt sport from the provisions of the Group Areas Act, the Urban Areas Act and the Liquor Control Act - to be passed during the present session of Parliament.

As you know, the Government has accepted the proposals of the Van der Walt Committee of the Human Sciences Research Council that the legislation referred to be amended as stated above. Subsequently, as the Minister responsible for sport, I have issued a statement to the

effect that Cabinet approval had been obtained for the proposed amendments and that these would be introduced as soon as possible. You will also recollect that the Honourable the Prime Minister furnished the South African Cricket authorities with a letter containing his personal assurance about the introduction of the amending legislation.

It is still possible that at least one of the amendments could be dealt with during the present session. However, as it is a brief and special session, convened mainly for the purpose of dealing with the budget and other urgent legislation held over from the previous session, it is likely that the remainder would be dealt with during the session commencing in January next.

You may rest assured that this is not a stalling operation and that the Prime Minister and his Government are determined to assist South African sport on this issue.

Yours faithfully,

(signed) G v N Viljoen
 MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION

The following is a synopsis of the findings and recommendations of the Legal Committee:

Analysis of the Acts involved

1. The Group Areas Act (No 36 of 1966)

Apart from section 1(4), the Group Areas Act is not, in terms of its origin, purport, purpose and prescripts, applicable to the presence of sportsmen, sports administrators and spectators who attend sport matches.

The provisions of Proclamation R228 under section 1(4) of the Group Areas Act can affect participation in sport directly and hamper the normalisation of sporting relations and the elimination of discrimination.

The Committee recommends that section 1(4) of the Group Areas Act and Proclamation R228 be repealed.

Alternatively, that Proclamation R228 be amended to exclude the presence of sportsmen, sports administrators and organisers, office bearers and spectators at bona fide sports meetings from the operation of the Proclamation and likewise from attendance as members of or as guests in a sports club.

2. Liquor Act (No 87 of 1977)

The consumption of liquor and other refreshments is traditionally an integral part of numerous sporting and competitive gatherings. As such, then, the provisions of the Liquor Act may affect the normalisation of sporting relations.

In the case of sports clubs for example, section 72(1) creates problems. It prohibits the holder of an on-consumption licence to

supply liquor, refreshments, meals or accommodation to Non-Whites as guests, on premises intended for occupation by Whites.

The Committee recommends that a bona fide sports club which is the holder of a club or sportsfield licence be included under the exclusionary section of the Liquor Act (i.e. 211). This should dispose of all problems. If this amendment should be accepted, section 211 should read as follows:

"Exemption of certain persons from certain differential provisions. Any provision of this act of a condition laid down in terms thereof, which draws a distinction in respect of Blacks, Asians or Coloureds does not apply to:

any member or guest of a bona fide sports club which is the holder of a club or sportsfield licence.

A bona fide sports club should be trusted to arrange and control its internal affairs and social activities in a responsible manner."

3. Reservation of Separate Amenities Act (No 49 of 1953)

The reservation of sports facilities in terms of this Act must necessarily affect participants in "normal" sport at all levels.

The Committee holds the view that an evaluation of the desirability of the Act as a whole falls outside the ambit of its mandate. However, since the Act, in its present form, probably no longer reflects current politico-philosophical and politico-ideological trends - even at Government level - the Committee feels that in view of the sporting situation there is sufficient

reason for a thorough reassessment of the entire Act and the contents of its provisions.

The Committee recommends that the Act concerned be reconsidered in its entirety by way of a comprehensive research project.

4. Black (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act (No 25 of 1945):

The Act does not only affect the freedom of movement of Black sportsmen, but also that of persons who are not covered by the definition of a Black; for example Whites who wish to participate in sport in prescribed Black areas.

With the recognition of the autonomy of sport, the administration boards have become cautious, even reluctant to exercise their power of control over Black sport. If it is implemented, section 9 and 10 can seriously hamper the freedom of movement of Black sportsmen.

The Committee recommends that sections 9 and 10 of the Act be amended to guarantee the right to participate in sport in all its facets.

General recommendations of the Law Committee

The Committee recommended as follows:

- (i) Consistent recognition should be given to a right or claim to be able to take part in sport.
- (ii) This right belongs to active participants in sporting activities, organisers of sport, office-bearers, coaches, sporting bodies and clubs, and spectators.

- (iii) Participation in sport is an educational and socio-cultural activity which embraces a multiplicity of acts, viz. active participation, organisation and promotion of sport, taking office, coaching, watching of sport and other supporting and incidental social activities which normally accompany sporting activities.

- (iv) Discrimination by the state relating to the exercise of the right to participate amounts to an unjustifiable extension of governmental power into a sphere which is in principle non-governmental.

- (v) Discrimination in the sphere of sport consists in the unequal treatment of sportsmen, sports organisers, office-bearers and coaches and spectators, on the strength of irrelevant factors such as race, for example.

- (vi) Legislative measures which discriminate on racial grounds and apply to sporting situations, constitute a form of institutionalised discrimination which is unacceptable.

- (vii) The principle of sporting autonomy, viz. the claim of a sporting body that it may exclusively and decisively regulate its own, unique, domestic affairs, must be accepted and respected.

- (viii) The autonomy of a sporting body or organisation implies that its founders may freely decide about the founding of a sporting body, freely decide about membership, freely adopt domestic and disciplinary measures, freely appoint office-bearers, have freedom to enforce internal disciplinary measures, and be free to make arrangements in regard to competition and related or incidental matters.

- (ix) A sporting body must have as its exclusive objective the promotion of the sport

concerned in its multiplicity of facets, and the active pursuit of non-sporting aims, such as the achievement of changes in the politico-social system, constitutes abuse of autonomy and may justify state interference if individual or public legal interests are harmed or threatened.

- (x) The state may not limit the autonomy of sporting bodies by adopting or tolerating discriminatory legislation (enforced segregation). The converse is also valid: legislation may not compel sportsmen not to differentiate or discriminate (enforced integration). The autonomy of sporting bodies and the operation of social and moral forces within the community must not be interfered with.
- (xi) Sound relations between sport and politics (or national policy) require an optimal depoliticisation of sport: the state may not by means of legislation or otherwise, interfere with the internal affairs of sport and sporting organisations and may also not deliberately use sport as a political instrument.
- (xii) However, the state may intervene, with the means at its disposal, when a sporting organisation abuses its autonomy (e.g. by pursuing non-sporting aims) and acts in such a way that the public order or the rights of individuals are harmed or threatened. The state has the right and, indeed, the duty to prevent such conflicts.
- (xiii) "Administrative" exemption from legislative measures which have not been formally repealed, is not a permissible approach. The good motives behind such rulings do not prevent sportsmen and organisers being misled by them; they may, wrongly, be brought under the impression that such exemptions are juridically founded.
- (xiv) A change in policy as regards the

applicability of legislation to sport must not be brought about only in the administrative sphere, but must be likewise reflected in legislation.

The Government approved the amendment of the relevant sections of the following acts in order to abolish their applicability to sports situations: the Liquor Act (No 87 of 1977), the Group Areas Act (No 36 of 1966) and the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act (No 25 of 1945). As far as the Act on the Allocation of Separate Facilities is concerned, the Government is in agreement with the view of the Law Committee that a further in-depth investigation is desirable also to include aspects other than sport."

Subsequently the Minister of National Education provided the President of SANOC with the following letter:

APPENDIX 10

INTERNATIONAL DECLARATION AGAINST APARTHEID IN SPORTS
14 DECEMBER 1977

UN Resolution 32/105M December 1977.

APPENDIX 10

INTERNATIONAL DECLARATION AGAINST *Apartheid*
IN SPORTS 14 December 1977

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolution 31/6 F of 9 November 1976 on *apartheid* in sports,

Reaffirming the importance of effective international action to abolish *apartheid* in sports and in all other fields,

Having considered the report of the *Ad Hoc Committee* on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports,⁹⁰

1. *Adopts and proclaims* the International Declaration against *Apartheid* in Sports, recommended by the *Ad Hoc Committee* on the Drafting of an International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports and annexed to the present resolution;

2. *Requests* the *Ad Hoc Committee* to draft an international convention against *apartheid* in sports for submission to the General Assembly at its thirty-third session;

3. *Authorizes* the *Ad Hoc Committee* to consult with representatives of the organizations concerned and experts on *apartheid* in sports;

4. *Decides* that summary records should be provided for meetings of the *Ad Hoc Committee*;

5. *Requests* the Secretary-General to provide all necessary assistance to the *Ad Hoc Committee* in the discharge of its task.

102nd plenary meeting
14 December 1977

ANNEX

International Declaration against *Apartheid* in Sports

The General Assembly,

Recalling the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, in which Member States pledge to take joint and separate action in co-operation with the Organization for the achievement of universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion,

Considering the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,⁹¹ which states that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights and that everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in the Declaration without distinction of any kind such as race, colour or national origin,

Recalling that, in accordance with the principles of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination,⁹² States undertake not to sponsor, defend or support racial discrimination,

Recalling further that the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid*⁹³

⁹⁰ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Supplement No. 36 (A/32/36).

⁹¹ Resolution 217 A (III).

⁹² Resolution 2106 A (XX), annex.

⁹³ Resolution 3068 (XXVIII), annex.

declares that *apartheid* is a crime violating the principles of international law, in particular the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and constituting a serious threat to international peace and security,

Recalling that the General Assembly has adopted a number of resolutions in which the policies and practices of *apartheid*, including the application of *apartheid* in the field of sport, and collaboration with the racist régime in all areas, are condemned,

Reaffirming the legitimacy of the struggle of the people of South Africa for the total elimination of *apartheid* and racial discrimination,

Recognizing that the eradication of *apartheid* and rendering of assistance to the South African people to establish a non-racial society is one of the primary concerns of the international community,

Convinced that more effective measures must be taken as a matter of priority, during the International Anti-Apartheid Year and the Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, to eliminate *apartheid* in all its manifestations,

Reaffirming its unqualified support for the Olympic principle that no discrimination be allowed on the grounds of race, religion or political affiliation and its belief that merit should be the sole criterion for participation in sports activities,

Considering that international representative sporting contacts based on the Olympic principle can play a positive role in promoting peace and the development of friendly relations among nations of the world,

Recognizing that there can be neither adherence to the principle of merit selection nor fully integrated non-racial sport in any country practising *apartheid* until the *apartheid* system itself is eradicated,

Condemning the enforcement, by the racist régime of South Africa, of racial discrimination and segregation in sports,

Commending the sportsmen inside South Africa who are struggling against *apartheid* and upholding the principle of non-racialism in sport,

Condemning the repressive measures taken by the racist *apartheid* régime against the non-racial sports bodies and their leaders in South Africa,

Rejecting the policy of so-called "multinational" sport, enunciated by the South African racist régime, as no more than a device for perpetuating *apartheid* in sports and an attempt by the régime to mislead international public opinion in order to gain acceptance for participation in international sport,

Recognizing the importance in the international campaign against *apartheid* of the boycott of South African sports teams selected on the basis of *apartheid*,

Convinced that an effective campaign for the total boycott of South African sports teams can be an important measure in demonstrating the abhorrence of *apartheid* by Governments and peoples,

Commending all Governments, sportsmen, sports bodies and other organizations which have taken action against *apartheid* in sports,

Noting with concern that some national and international sports bodies have continued contacts with racist *apartheid* sports bodies in violation of the Olympic principle and resolutions of the United Nations,

Recognizing that participation in sports exchanges with teams selected on the basis of *apartheid* violates the fundamental human rights of the great majority of the people of South Africa and directly abets and encourages the commission of the crime of *apartheid*, as defined in the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid*, and encourages the racist régime in its pursuit of *apartheid*,

Condemning sports contacts with any country practising *apartheid* and recognizing that participation in *apartheid* in sports condones and strengthens *apartheid* and thereby becomes the legitimate concern of all Governments,

Convinced that an international declaration against *apartheid* in sports would make it possible to take more effective measures at the international and national levels with a view to completely isolating and eliminating *apartheid*,

Proclaims this International Declaration against *Apartheid* in Sports:

Article 1

States affirm and support this Declaration as an expression of international condemnation of *apartheid* and as a measure to contribute towards the total eradication of the system of *apartheid*, and to this end resolve to take strong action and to exert the greatest possible influence in order to ensure the total elimination of *apartheid* in sports.

Article 2

States shall take all appropriate action to bring about the total cessation of sporting contacts with any country practising *apartheid* and shall refrain from official sponsorship, assistance or encouragement of such contacts.

Article 3

States shall take all appropriate action towards the exclusion or expulsion of any country practising *apartheid* from international and regional sports bodies. They shall give full support to national sports bodies attempting to exclude such countries from membership of international and regional sports associations or to prevent such countries from participation in sports activities.

Article 4

1. States shall publicly declare and express total opposition to *apartheid* in sports as well as full and active support for the total boycott of all teams and sportsmen from the racist *apartheid* sports bodies.

2. States shall pursue a vigorous programme of public education aimed at securing strict adherence to the Olympic principle of non-discrimination in sports and widespread national acceptance for the spirit and letter of United Nations resolutions on *apartheid* in sports.

3. Sports bodies shall be actively encouraged to withhold any support from sporting events organized in violation of the Olympic principle and United Nations resolutions. To this end, States shall convey the United Nations resolutions on *apartheid* in sports to all national sports bodies, urging them:

(a) To disseminate such information to all their affiliates and branches;

(b) To take all necessary action to ensure strict compliance with those resolutions.

Article 5

States shall take appropriate actions against their sporting teams and organizations whose members collectively or individually participate in sports activities in any country practising *apartheid* or with teams from a country practising *apartheid*, which in particular shall include:

(a) Refusal to provide financial or other assistance to enable sports bodies, teams or individuals to participate in sports activities in countries practising *apartheid* or with teams and individual sportsmen selected on the basis of *apartheid*;

(b) Refusal to provide financial or other assistance for any purpose to sports bodies whose team members or affiliates participate in such sporting activities;

(c) Withdrawal of access to national sporting facilities to such teams or individuals;

(d) Non-recognition by States of all professional sporting contracts which involve sporting activities in any country practising *apartheid*, or with teams or individual sportsmen selected on the basis of *apartheid*;

(e) Denial and withdrawal of national honours or awards to such teams or individuals;

(f) Denial of official receptions to teams or sportsmen participating in sports activities with teams or individual sportsmen from any country practising *apartheid*.

Article 6

States shall deny visas and/or entry to representatives of sports bodies, members of teams or individual sportsmen from any country practising *apartheid*.

Article 7

States shall establish national regulations and guidelines against participation with *apartheid* in sports and shall ensure that effective means exist for bringing about compliance with such guidelines.

Article 8

States shall co-operate with anti-*apartheid* movements and other organizations which are engaged in promoting the implementation of the principles of this Declaration.

Article 9

States undertake to encourage actively and publicly all official bodies, private enterprises and other groups engaged in promoting, organizing or servicing sports activities to refrain from undertaking any action which in any way supports, assists or enables the organization of activities involving *apartheid* in sports.

Article 10

States shall urge all their regional, provincial and other authorities to take whatever steps are necessary to ensure the strict compliance with the provisions of this Declaration.

Article 11

States agree to use their best endeavours to terminate the practice of *apartheid* in sports, in accordance with the principles contained in this Declaration and, to this end, States agree to work towards the prompt preparation and adoption of an international convention against *apartheid* in sports based on the principles contained in this Declaration which would include sanctions for violation of its terms.

Article 12

1. States and international, regional and national sports bodies shall actively support projects, undertaken in collaboration with the Organization of African Unity and the South African liberation movements recognized by it, towards the formation of non-racial teams truly representative of South Africa.

2. To this end, States and all appropriate organizations shall encourage, assist and recognize genuine non-racial sports bodies in South Africa endorsed by the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, the Organization of African Unity and the South African liberation movements recognized by it.

3. States shall also give active support to sportsmen and sports administrators in their opposition to *apartheid* in sports.

Article 13

International, regional and national sports bodies shall uphold the Olympic principle and cease all sports contact with the racist *apartheid* sports bodies.

Article 14

International sports bodies shall not impose financial or other penalties on affiliated bodies which, in accordance with United Nations resolutions and the spirit of the Olympic Charter, refuse to participate in sports contact with any country practising *apartheid*.

Article 15

National sports bodies shall take appropriate action to persuade their international federation to exclude racist *apartheid* sports bodies from membership and from all international activities.

Article 16

All national Olympic committees shall declare their opposition to *apartheid* in sports and to sports contact with South Africa, and shall actively encourage all affiliates and constituent members to end all sports contact with South Africa.

Article 17

The provisions of this Declaration concerning the boycott of South African sports teams shall not apply to non-racial sports bodies endorsed by the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, the Organization of African Unity and the South African liberation movements recognized by it and their members.

Article 18

All international, regional and national sports bodies and Olympic committees shall endorse the principles of this Declaration and support and uphold all provisions contained therein.

APPENDIX 11

THE REVISED DRAFT OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION
AGAINST APARTHEID IN SPORTS

UN: Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Drafting of an International
Convention Against Apartheid in Sports, 1980.

APPENDIX 11

REVISED DRAFT OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION
AGAINST APARTHEID IN SPORTS

Article 1

For this Convention:

(a) The expression "apartheid" means a system of institutionalized racial segregation and discrimination for the purpose of establishing and maintaining domination by one racial group of persons over another racial group of persons and systematically oppressing them, such as that pursued in southern Africa. "Apartheid in sports" is the application of the policies and practices of such a system in sports activities whether organized on a professional or an amateur basis;

(b) The expression "national sports facilities" means any sports facility operated within the framework of a sports programme conducted under the auspices of a national government;

(c) The expression "Olympic principle" refers to the principle that no discrimination be allowed on the grounds of race, religion or political affiliation;

(d) The expression "sports contract" means any contract concluded for the organization, promotion, performance or derivative rights, including servicing, or any sports activity;

(e) The expression "sportsmen" means sportsmen and sportswomen.

Article 2

States Parties condemn apartheid and undertake to pursue by all appropriate means and without delay a policy of eliminating the practice

of apartheid in all its forms from the field of sports.

Article 3

States Parties shall not permit sports contact with a country practising apartheid and shall take appropriate action to ensure that their sports teams, sports bodies and individual sportsmen do not have such contact.

Article 4

States Parties shall establish national regulations and guidelines against sports contact with a country practising apartheid and shall ensure that effective means exist for bringing about compliance with such regulations and guidelines.

Article 5

States Parties shall refuse to provide financial or other assistance to enable their sports bodies, teams or individual sportsmen to participate in sports activities in a country practising apartheid or with teams or individual sportsmen selected on the basis of apartheid.

Article 6

Each State Party shall take appropriate action against its sports teams, sports bodies and individual sportsmen that participate in sports activities in a country practising apartheid or with teams from a country practising apartheid, which in particular shall include:

- (a) Refusal to provide financial or other assistance for any purpose to such sports bodies, teams and individual sportsmen;
- (b) Withdrawal of access to national sports facilities to such sports bodies, teams or individual sportsmen;
- (c) Non-enforceability of all professional sports contracts which

involve sports activities in a country practising apartheid, or with teams or individual sportsmen selected on the basis of apartheid;

(d) Denial and withdrawal of national honours or awards in the field of sports to such teams or individual sportsmen;

(e) Denial of official receptions in honour of such teams or sportsmen.

Article 7

States Parties shall deny visas and/or entry to representatives of sports bodies, members of teams or individual sportsmen from a country practising apartheid.

Article 8

States Parties shall take all appropriate action to secure the expulsion of a country practising apartheid from international and regional sports bodies.

Article 9

States Parties shall use their best endeavours to prevent international sports bodies from imposing financial or other penalties on affiliated bodies which, in accordance with United Nations resolutions, the provisions of this Convention and the spirit of the Olympic principle, refuse to participate in sports with a country practising apartheid.

Article 10A

States Parties shall use their best endeavours to ensure compliance with the Olympic principle of non-discrimination and the provisions of this Convention and, to this end, they shall take all necessary action to ensure that their nations refrain from participating in all sports events which include individuals or teams from a country practising apartheid.

Article 10B

State Parties shall use their best endeavours to ensure compliance with the Olympic principle of non-discrimination and the provisions of this Convention and, to this end, they shall take all necessary action to ensure that their nationals refrain from participating in all sports events with or which include individuals or teams from a Country practising apartheid or from a Country which include individuals or teams that engage in sports activities with teams and individuals from a Country practising apartheid.

Article 11

1. There shall be established an International Commission against Apartheid in Sports (hereinafter referred to as the Commission) consisting of representatives of five States Parties appointed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations in consultation with the States Parties and on the basis of equitable geographical distribution.

2. The initial appointment of the members of the Commission shall be made within six months of the entry into force of this Convention.

3. The members of the Commission shall be appointed for a term of three years. They shall be eligible for reappointment. Appointments at the expiry of office shall be in accordance with the provision of this article.

Article 12

1. States Parties undertake to submit to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, for consideration by the Commission, a report on the legislative, judicial, administrative or other measures which they have adopted to give effect to the provisions of this Convention within one year of the entry into force of the Convention and thereafter every two

years. The Commission may request further information from the States Parties.

2. The Commission shall report annually through the Secretary-General to the General Assembly of the United Nations on its activities and may make suggestions and general recommendations based on the examination of the reports and information received from the States Parties. Such suggestions and recommendations shall be reported to the General Assembly together with comments, if any, from States Parties concerned.

Article 13

1. Any State Party to the Convention may at any time declare that it recognizes the competence of the Commission to receive and examine the complaints concerning breaches of the provisions of this Convention submitted by States Parties which have also made such a declaration. The Commission may decide on the appropriate measures to be taken in respect of breaches.

2. State Parties against which a complaint has been made, in accordance with paragraph 1 of this article, shall be entitled to send a representative to take part in the proceeding of the Commission.

Article 14

1. The Commission shall meet at least once year.
2. The Commission shall adopt its own rules of procedure.
3. The Secretariat of the Commission shall be provided by the Secretary-General of the United Nations.
4. The meetings of the Commission shall normally be held at United Nations Headquarters.
5. The Secretary-General shall convene the initial meeting of the Commission.

Article 15

Disputes between States Parties arising out of the interpretation, application or implementation of this Convention which have not been settled by negotiation shall be brought before the International Court of Justice at the request and with the mutual consent of the States Parties to the disputes, save where the parties to the disputes have agreed on some other form of settlement.

Article 16

This Convention is open for signature by all States. Any State which does not sign the Convention before its entry into force may accede to it.

Article 17

1. This Convention is subject to ratification. Instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

2. Accession shall be effected by the deposit of an instrument of accession with the Secretary-General.

Article 18

1. This Convention shall enter into force on the thirtieth day after the date of the deposit with the Secretary-General of the United Nations of the twentieth instrument of ratification or accession.

2. For each State ratifying this Convention or acceding to it after the deposit of the twentieth instrument of ratification or instrument of accession, the Convention shall enter into force on the thirtieth day after the date of the deposit of its own instrument of ratification or instrument of accession.

Article 19

A State Party may withdraw from this Convention by written notification to the Secretary-General of the United Nations. Such withdrawal shall take effect one year after the date of receipt of the notification by the Secretary-General.

Article 20

1. A request for the revision of this Convention may be made at any time by any State Party by means of a notification in writing addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

2. The General Assembly of the United Nations shall decide upon the steps, if any, to be taken in respect of such request.

Article 21

The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall inform all States of the following particulars:

- (a) Signature, ratifications and accessions under articles 16 and 17;
- (b) Date of entry into force of this Convention under article 18;
- (c) Withdrawals under article 19;
- (d) Notifications under article 20.

1. This Convention, of which the Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish texts are equally authentic, shall be deposited in the archives of the United Nations.

2. The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall transmit certified copies of this Convention to all States.

APPENDIX 12

LUSAKA DECLARATION OF THE COMMONWEALTH ON RACISM
AND RACIAL PREJUDICE

Commonwealth Secretariat. A Yearbook of the Commonwealth, 1981, pp. 42-43.

Lusaka Declaration of the Commonwealth on Racism and Racial Prejudice

We, the Commonwealth Heads of Government, recalling the Declaration of Commonwealth principles made at Singapore on 22 January 1971 and the statement on Apartheid in Sport, issued in London on 15 June 1977, have decided to proclaim our desire to work jointly as well as severally for the eradication of all forms of racism and racial prejudice.

The Commonwealth is an institution devoted to the promotion of international understanding and world peace, and to the achievement of equal rights for all citizens regardless of race, colour, sex, creed or political belief, and is committed to the eradication of the dangerous evils of racism and racial prejudice.

We now, therefore, proclaim this Lusaka Declaration of the Commonwealth on Racism and Racial Prejudice.

United in our desire to rid the world of the evils of racism and racial prejudice, we proclaim our faith in the inherent dignity and worth of the human person and declare that—

- (i) the peoples of the Commonwealth have the right to live freely in dignity and equality, without any distinction or exclusion based on race, colour, sex, descent, or national or ethnic origin;
- (ii) while everyone is free to retain diversity in his or her culture and lifestyle, this diversity does not justify the perpetuation of racial prejudice or racially discriminatory practices;
- (iii) everyone has the right to equality before the law and equal justice under the law;
- (iv) everyone has the right to effective remedies and protection against any form of discrimination based on the grounds of race, colour, sex, descent, or national or ethnic origin.

We reject as inhuman and intolerable all policies designed to perpetuate apartheid, racial segregation or other policies based on theories that racial groups are or may be inherently superior or inferior.

We reaffirm that it is the duty of all the peoples of the Commonwealth to work together for the total eradication of the infamous policy of apartheid which is internationally recognised as a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind and the very existence of which is an affront to humanity.

We agree that everyone has the right to protection against acts of incitement to racial hatred and discrimination, whether committed by individuals, groups or other organisations.

We affirm that there should be no discrimination based on race, colour, sex, descent or national or ethnic origin in the acquisition or exercise of the right to vote; in the field of civil rights or access to citizenship; or in the economic, social or cultural fields, particularly education, health, employment, occupation, housing, social security and cultural life.

We attach particular importance to ensuring that children shall be protected from practices which may foster racism or racial prejudice. Children have the right to be brought up and educated in a spirit of tolerance and understanding so as to be able to contribute fully to the building of future societies based on justice and friendship.

We believe that those groups in societies who may be especially disadvantaged because of residual racist attitudes are entitled to the fullest protection of the law. We recognise that the history of the Commonwealth and its diversity require that special attention should be paid to the problems of indigenous minorities. We recognise that the same special attention should be paid to the problems of immigrants, immigrant workers and refugees.

We agree that special measures may in particular circumstances be required to advance the development of disadvantaged groups in society. We recognise that the effects of colonialism or racism in the past may make desirable special provisions for the social and economic enhancement of indigenous populations.

Inspired by the principles of freedom and equality which characterise our association, we accept the solemn duty of working together to eliminate racism and racial prejudice. This duty involves the acceptance of the principle that positive measures may be required to advance the elimination of racism, including assistance to those struggling to rid themselves and their environment of the practice.

Being aware that legislation alone cannot eliminate racism and racial prejudice, we endorse the need to initiate public information and education policies designed to promote understanding, tolerance, respect and friendship among peoples and racial groups.

We are particularly conscious of the importance of the contribution the media can make to human rights and the eradication of racism and racial prejudice by helping to eliminate ignorance and misunderstanding between people and by drawing attention to the evils which afflict humanity. We affirm the importance of the truthful presentation of facts in order to ensure that the public are fully informed of the dangers presented by racism and racial prejudice.

In accordance with established principles of International Law and, in particular, the provisions of the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination, we affirm that everyone is, at all times and in all places, entitled to be protected in the enjoyment of the right to be free of racism and racial prejudice.

We believe that the existence in the world of apartheid and racial discrimination is a matter of concern to all human beings. We recognise that we share an international responsibility to work together for the total eradication of apartheid and racial discrimination.

We note that racism and racial prejudice, wherever they occur, are significant factors contributing to tension between nations and thus inhibit peaceful progress and development. We believe that the goal of the eradication of racism stands as a critical priority for governments of the Commonwealth, committed as they are to the promotion of the ideals of peaceful and happy lives for their people.

We intend that the Commonwealth, as an international organisation with a fundamental and deep-rooted attachment to principles of freedom and equality, should co-operate with other organisations in the fulfilment of these principles. In particular the Commonwealth should seek to enhance the co-ordination of its activities with those of other organisations similarly committed to the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

APPENDIX 13

CODE OF CONDUCT ON THE GLENEAGLES DECLARATION

Minutes of the General Assembly of the GGF, at Brisbane, 6 October 1982.

CODE OF CONDUCT ON THE GLENEAGLES DECLARATION

Whereas by the Gleneagles Declaration of 1977, the Commonwealth Heads of Government:

"Accepted it as the urgent duty of each of their Governments vigorously to combat the evil of apartheid by withholding any form of support for, and by taking every practical step to discourage, contact or competition by their nationals with sporting organisations, teams or sportsmen from South Africa or any other country where sports are organised on the basis of race, colour or ethnic origin;" and

Whereas by a Resolution passed at the General Assembly at Edmonton in 1978:

"The Commonwealth Games Federation notes with appreciation the Gleneagles Declaration of the Commonwealth Heads of Government and calls upon all its member Commonwealth Games Associations to work actively for the full implementation of this declaration by refraining from participating in sporting events with countries which practise apartheid in sport, particularly, South Africa which has been expelled by the International Olympic Committee from the Olympic Movement for their apartheid sports policy;" and

Whereas at the Special General Assembly of the Federation on 5 May 1982 held in Marlborough House (hereinafter referred to as the "Marlborough House Assembly"), the Commonwealth Games Associations reaffirmed their support for the Gleneagles Declaration) and "pledged their understanding, support and active participation" in the full realization of its objectives".

Recognising that

"There was a need for continuous vigilance and firm adherence to principle on the part of sporting authorities if these objectives were to be fulfilled they committed their Associations to pursue all practical measures to this end"; and

Whereas at the Marlborough House Assembly, the Federation also decided

"in the specific context of the Commonwealth Games" that its Constitution should be amended:

- (1) to "ensure that the future of the Commonwealth Games was not impaired by the action of individual countries through their sporting authorities or otherwise";
- (2) to "facilitate pursuance of the objectives of the Gleneagles (Declaration)"; and
- (3) to "empower the Federation by due process and for good cause arising from gross non-fulfilment by any country of the objectives of the Gleneagles Declaration to suspend the right to participate in future Commonwealth Games of that country's constituent association" and;

Whereas the Marlborough House Assembly further decided that there should be a thorough review of the Constitution of the Federation and that this should include incorporation of a Code of Conduct and provision for the convening of Special General Assemblies.

Whereas Article 9A of the Constitution now empowers the Federation by Special Resolution in General Assembly to adopt a Code of Conduct and to provide for its enforcement under Article 11.6A.

NOW THEREFORE THE FEDERATION IN GENERAL ASSEMBLY ACCORDINGLY ADOPTS THE FOLLOWING CODE OF CONDUCT:

- (1) In this Code the expression "a breach of the Gleneagles Declaration" means:

For individual Commonwealth sportsmen:

competing in a sports event in a country which practises apartheid or competing elsewhere in a sports event in which an individual from such a country is competing in a representative capacity for his country or sports body.

For Commonwealth sportsmen as members of teams:

participating in a sports event which includes a team from a country which practises apartheid.

For Commonwealth sports administrators:

planning or facilitating such competition or participation by Commonwealth sportsmen as noted above.

- (2) In discharging its duty to secure effective implementation of the Gleneagles Declaration, each Commonwealth Games Association shall so conduct its affairs and shall require that each of its affiliated National Governing Bodies shall so conduct their their affairs as to ensure that no approval, recognition, support or facility is given to sports contact between sportsmen and sports administrators from their countries and those of any country which practises apartheid.

- (3) If a Commonwealth Games Association becomes aware of an impending or actual breach of the Gleneagles Declaration involving a sportsman or administrator of a non-Commonwealth Games sport from its country, it shall promptly:
- (a) notify either the sportsmen or administrator or the National Governing Body concerned in writing as to the full implications both personal and in respect of the sport in general of the actions contemplated and make known its opposition;
 - (b) in the event of an actual breach, require its affiliated National Governing Bodies to declare those involved ineligible to participate in the Commonwealth Games whether as a competitor or administrator and failing such action by all National Governing Bodies, it shall itself declare those involved ineligible to participate in the Commonwealth Games;
 - (c) notify the secretary of the Commonwealth Games Federation of the position giving details of the action taken or planned by the Commonwealth Games Association and its affiliated National Governing Bodies in the discharge of their duties under this Code of Conduct;
 - (d) notify its government of the implications of the action contemplated or taken and request its government to take all steps necessary in the discharge of its obligations under the Gleneagles Declaration
- (4) If a Commonwealth Games Association becomes aware of an impending or actual breach of the Gleneagles Declaration involving a sportsman or administrator of a Commonwealth Games sport from its country, it shall promptly:

- (a) notify either the sportsman or administrator or the National Governing Body concerned in writing as to the full implications, both personal and in respect of the sport in general, of the actions contemplated and make known its opposition thereto and require the National Governing Body of the sport to do likewise;
- (b) in the event of any impending breach take steps with a view to securing the abandonment of the actions in contemplation and shall request that each of its affiliated National Governing Bodies shall do likewise;
- (c) in the event of an actual breach:
 - (i) request its affiliated National Governing Bodies to declare those involved ineligible to participate in the Commonwealth Games whether as a competitor or administrator until further notice and failing such action by all National Governing Bodies, it shall itself declare those involved ineligible to participate in the Commonwealth Games;
 - (ii) require that such other action as may be appropriate in the particular circumstances is promptly taken against the individual concerned by the appropriate National Governing Body;
 - (iii) where the National Governing Body has given official approval or support to such breach, shall forthwith by due process suspend that National Governing Body from affiliation and notify the appropriate International Federation of its action;

- (d) notify the Secretary of the Commonwealth Games Federation of the position giving details of the action taken or planned by the Commonwealth Games Association and the National Governing Body concerned in the discharge of their duties under this Code of Conduct.
- (5) A person who, after the date on which this Code of Conduct was adopted, is party to a breach of the Gleneagles Declaration or who is a member of the National Governing Body of any sport which commits or condones such a breach shall not be eligible to compete or act in any official capacity in the Commonwealth Games Federation or any Commonwealth Games Association unless and until the General Assembly shall otherwise decide.
- (6) No form of sports exchange shall take place between any Commonwealth Games Association and a Commonwealth Games Association or the governing body of a Commonwealth Games sport which has been suspended or individual sportsmen declared ineligible to participate in the Commonwealth Games.

AND THE FEDERATION BY SPECIAL RESOLUTION IN GENERAL ASSEMBLY FURTHER AGREES THAT:

in the expectation that this Code will be faithfully complied with and in view of the constitutional powers conferred upon the Federation to deal with gross non-fulfillment of the Gleneagles Declaration, the Games should not in future be jeopardised.

NEW ARTICLE 11.6A

The General Assembly may by Special Resolution:

With a view to ensuring that future Commonwealth Games are not impaired and where it is satisfied for good cause that there has been gross non-fulfillment of the objectives of the Gleneagles Declaration 1977 by the actions of a country in relation to its obligations under the Gleneagles Declaration or of its Commonwealth Games Association and such actions imperil the forthcoming Commonwealth Games suspend the right to participate in future Commonwealth Games of that country's Commonwealth Games Association.

APPENDIX 14

STATEMENT BY THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT ON NIGERIA'S PARTICIPATION AT 1978 COMMONWEALTH GAMES AT EDMONTON, CANADA

Federal Ministry of Social Development, Youth, Sport and Culture,
28 July 1978.

APPENDIX 14

STATEMENT BY THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT
ON NIGERIA'S PARTICIPATION AT 1978 COMMONWEALTH
GAMES AT EDMONTON, CANADA

At the last Commonwealth Conference held in London in June, 1977, the Heads of Government, in what is now generally referred to as the 'Gleneagles' declaration, unanimously called upon all member countries to sever their sporting links with apartheid South Africa. In the declaration, the Heads of Government re-affirmed that in sports, as in other fields, apartheid was an abomination and ran counter to the principles on which the Commonwealth of Nations was founded. The declaration was necessitated by New Zealand's sporting link with South Africa.

Nigeria is pleased to note that most Commonwealth countries have, in demonstration of their faith in the organization, observed the declaration to the letter. Regrettably, however, New Zealand has not had a change of heart. That government's sole response to the Gleneagles declaration was to make the document available to her National Sporting Association. Meanwhile, New Zealanders travel to South Africa as individuals and re-group there as team. The Government of New Zealand openly defends this method of circumvention.

In pursuance of the Commonwealth stand, as enunciated earlier, the Commonwealth Secretary General made personal contacts with the New Zealand Government in an effort to ensure that that country broke its sporting links continue to be brazenly pursued. All attempts to raise the issue at the meeting of the Commonwealth Games Federation held in London in September, 1977 were thwarted by New Zealand. The philosophy that sports and politics should not mix is a specious and hypocritical one. Sporting achievements today are used as a country's greatness. Sporting links fasten development and understanding between countries. Therefore a country which enjoys maintaining sports relations with South Africa stands guilty of giving indirect encouragement to the inhuman policy perpetrated by South Africa. Nigeria stands opposed to any such encouragement and will fight apartheid in its ramification.

Nigeria, along with most African countries and their cities, boycotted the 1976 Olympic Games as a mark of protest against New Zealand sporting links. New Zealand has not yet been persuaded, either by that action or by the Gleneagles declaration, to review her relations with Pretoria. It would be illogical in the extreme, therefore, if Nigeria were now to participate at the Commonwealth Games, simply because these are to be held under the auspices of the Commonwealth, when the reasons for her boycotting the Olympic Games remains unchanged.

Nigeria has decided, therefore, not to participate in the Edmonton Games. This is not a protest against Canada, a country with whom we share many common views. In view of the close, cordial and co-operative relations we have had with Canada over many years, it is indeed with some regret that Government had to take the decision not to participate in the Edmonton Games. However, considering the over riding issues involved, the Nigerian Government had no alternative but to take that decision.

Released by the Honourable Commissioner
for Labour, Youth and Sports, Mr. S.O. Williams,
Chief de Mission, Nigerian Contingent 3rd African
Games, Algiers, 28 July 1978

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